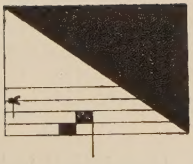
MVSICA DISCIPLINA

A Journal of the History of Music

ARMEN CARAPETYAN
Editor



Vol. VIII, 1954

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY

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* The usual arrangement in chronological order of the contents of *Musica Disciplina* has been disturbed in the present issue by the misplacement of the first article due to an error at a late moment, and left such on account of the many cross references in it.

CORRECTIONS FOR L. DITTMER

"AN ENGLISH DISCANTUUM VOLUMEN"
MUSICA DISCIPLINA VIII

Transcription A:

I 24-25	C DED under dots
I 63-64	Under dots
III 81	H plica ascendens
III 206-207	*Lu Ya* to be removed
218ff.	Numbering incorrect
1-217	Vox tertia and Vox secunda interchanged

Transcription C:

I 20-22	Under dots
II 76-77	AH ligated
II 86	DH only ligated
Beginning	(1) instead of (ø)

Transcription E:

III 11-20	Under dots
III 94	E under dots
II 108-109	Text not properly underlaid
II 124	H plica descendens
III 150	gines
III 185-186	Ligated

Transcription G:

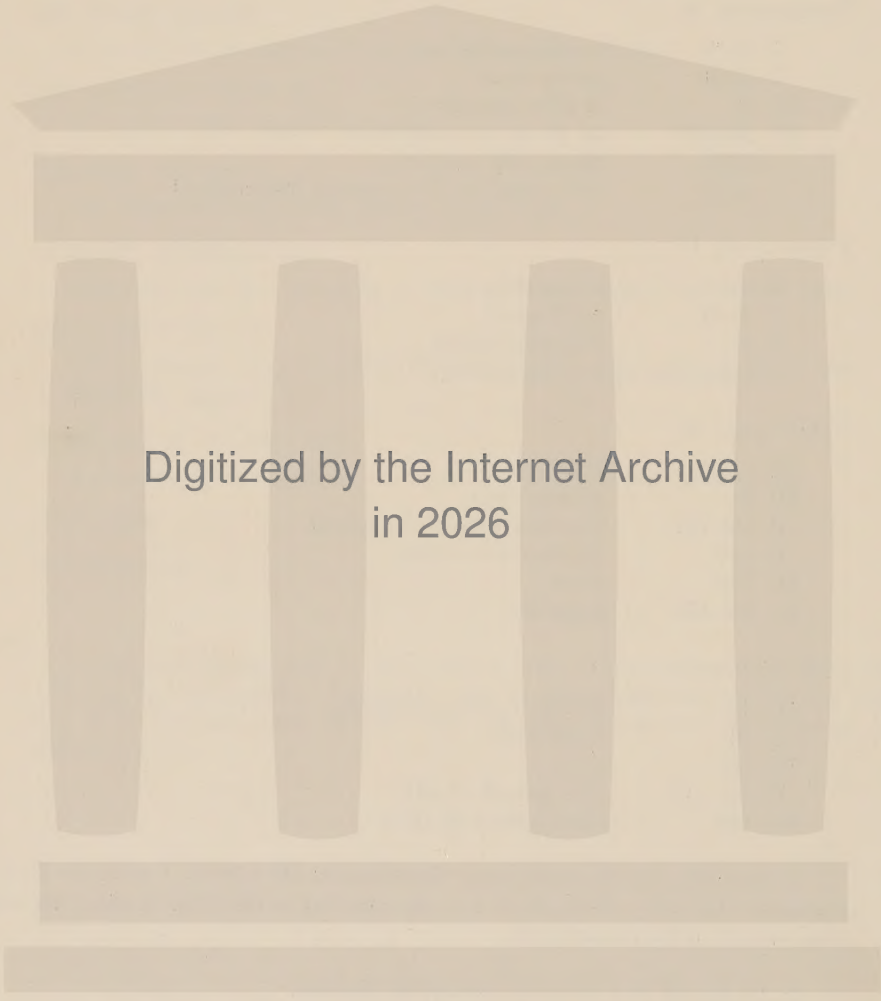
III 33	D brevis plica ascendens
III 48	Insert cum
III 163	et
II 181-182	HA instead of CH
III 188	Quo instead of Quae

P. 21 under No. A should read: Stimmtausch III 1-10 = I 21-30 = II 11-20 instead of III 1-10 = II 21-30 = I 11-20, referring to the order in which the voices were printed in the transcription.

P. 26 should read Mosayase instead of Mosyase.

P. 33 and P. 39 should read: Corpus Christi College 497 f. 6^{v} instead of f. 7^{v} (new foliation).

The second facsimile should read: Frag. 2b instead of 1b.



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CORRECTIONS FOR G. REANEY

THE MANUSCRIPT CHANTILLY, MUSEE CONDE 1047
MUSICA DISCIPLINA VIII

Page 78, line 31: *Ch* 38, not *Ch* 40
„ „ line 32 and note 69: *Ch* 40, not *Ch* 38
„ 90: no. 40 is in honour of John I of Aragon
„ 91: a marginal note gives the composer of no. 52 as Philipot.

Music

No. 1. Tenor: *Punctus* after 45^1 Ch // 46^3-47^1 *Ch* // *punctus* after 48^2 //
No. 4: <Triplum> : 86-87 // 143 //
<Motetus> : 54 // 143 //
Contratenor: 15^2 D // 30 a // 49^1 G // 65 // 70 // 95 //
Tenor: iii, 15-16 //

Poetic Texts

No. 1. *3* nés et créés de gent tres aineuse (hayneusse *PR*) *mss* // *19* duree *mss* //
No. 4. <Triplum> : 20 mal // 102 povoir *deleatur* //
Tenor Incipit : Ego Rogavi Deum ut ignis Iste non Dñetur Michi.

EDITORIAL

WHAT IS THE PRIMARY TASK OF MUSICAL SCHOLARSHIP?

The answer to the question should be obvious and an editorial about it superfluous. Yet so often the obvious, when it has to do with fundamental, indispensable things, escapes at least the best attention of just those who should best know it and best attend to it. And sometimes it fares far worse: it actually suffers the ills of negative or even destructive attitude on the part of those professing in the subject.

The fundamental and as it happens the sorest need of musical history is its source material — its texts. It is embarrassing to say such a simple, basic truth editorially. But the course followed in general by workers in musicology, greatly improved though it is in recent years, justifies an invitation to consider what musical history really needs more than all else and how much is done in its behalf.

In no discipline can much be done of a serious nature and of lasting value without source material. If you cannot write the political history of even a very limited period without having at hand full records, you certainly cannot write the cultural history of an epoch lacking a sufficient body of artistic productions and all else that would serve as basic and collateral sources and documents.

Needless to point out, such a body of source material for musical history would consist, first and foremost, of the musical compositions, then of the contemporary treatises, contemporary criticism and discussion, accounts of events and performances, and so forth. Musical history — properly so-called, and not as if it began in the 18th century — has only „begun to commence to start" putting in the hands of the historian and student and lover of music collected works from the vast and magnificent production of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. There is a splendid field before us, a great need, a great challenge. Much interest, much work, much effort must be devoted to the task of editing and publishing full, complete, collected works. Yet by far the largest part of musicological production consists of writings based on insufficient source material, and sometimes no source material worthy of the name! Books are written on subjects of which the musical documents are so scanty that hardly one serious article could be justified. Articles are legion of an „interpretive",

or speculative kind or reprocessing second, third and fourth hand material. Reference works and „standard" works are given to the public which so far as concerns mediaeval and renaissance music are premature and can be but tentative and temporary in usefulness. Never was „putting the cart before the horse" better exemplified than by the prolific production in the history and criticism of the pre-eighteenth or pre-seventeenth century music when we are merely at the threshold of the vast storehouse of the sources! The serious books and articles themselves, opening the path for further critical work, have to be content for the moment with a limited primary material. The work of these serious musicologists is hampered by the emphasis on the wrong place at this stage of musical history; for time and means do not always permit a development on all fronts, and if things of secondary importance receive preponderant attention, things of primary importance will fall in the wrong order and the discipline in question will be the loser.

Musical history, particularly of the epochs prior to the 18th century, has had its legitimate infancy during which it has made a fairly normal progress in growth. This infancy is clearly shown by a glance at the printed production in the field. There is natural and genuine infancy and infancy that lingers, unweaned, retarded but necessarily more articulate and hence vexatious and despairing to the mature. It is the difference between fresh infancy and tiresome puerility. Musicology will be caught in perpetual puerility if we were to follow the tendency of so many to do almost all but the essential, and the advice, even, of some that we still content ourselves with selections, tentative and partial editions, and the like. It is regrettable and astonishing to notice a „personal" opinion expressed recently that for the present we had better be satisfied with selections rather than collected works. It is true that a selection is better than nothing, but the better-than-nothing philosophy when put into practice unseasonably merely perpetuates superficiality and dilettantism. It is the kind of practicality that sounds the call to the *status quo*. It would have us remain at a standstill or revert to amateurism. It is contrary to true practicality, defined only a few days ago by a statesman as an „ideal put to work". Where would other fields in learning, older than musical history, be today if the long and arduous task had been shunned of editing and publishing immense bodies of source material at an immense cost and across years, even generations? Need we mention instances, addressed, as these lines are, to learned readers?

While there may be some little good in a selection, its disadvantages and even evils far outweigh the good. A small selection out of a large complete edition — and it is only in the case of a large collected works that the notion of a selection would figure — amounts to no more than

some haphazard samples, subject to the selector's knowledge and taste and ideas of application; and sampling will not lead us to penetration. On the other hand, a one-volume selection, preferred even temporarily to a say ten-volume collected works, will inevitably retard and conceivably even obstruct the realization of the desired and necessary objective, for we are only too prone to be satisfied with too little. In culture, contrary to politics, it is never too late, but it is almost always too little. The quesion rises, by the way, whether the selection would be made after transcribing and editing entire collected works or whether it would be applied to material to be transcribed and edited. If the latter, just in what sense would it be a selection, when the selector would have no acquaintance, even, with the complete works? If the former, why in general waste the precious and arduous effort gone into the work of collecting sources, transcribing them, collating them and editing them, once it is a question of publishing and not of personal study? The reader may be surprised at the following assertion: the classical complaint that there is no money for the publication of great or specialized works does not always explain the state of affairs generally obtaining. Where publications are in question of high standards and great dimensions, at least in the case of CORPUS MENSURABILIS MUSICAE or CORPUS SCRIPTORUM DE MUSICA, the difficulty, with one or two exceptions, has been in getting the work of editing done. The editors are usually professors and they have some difficulty in abiding by their commitments. Though it is true that to some extent music engraving itself, to speak only of a technical step towards the publication of large works, often causes difficulties and delays, inadequate co-operation by editors causes far more delays and disorganization in the year's plan of work with engraver and printer. This lack of adequate co-operation is undoubtedly another sign of things: it shows that some of the editors, though committed to the preparation of an edition and to definite dates as stipulated in their contracts, are not convinced of the primary importance to their profession of that part of their undertakings and therefore find or permit many an engagement to usurp the first place in their time and energy.

Anyhow, the argument that since publications such as are in question here take years to complete we ought to turn to selections stems from timidity; it is also negative if not, as one suspects, even cynical or tinged by personal feelings. And when the argument is further supported without justification by the assertion that collected works undertaken are or may come to a standstill, not only gratuitous words are in question but also a lurking pessimism. It is just such an attitude on the part of those who are active in the field that might hinder great undertakings, when really a helpful attitude, and acts, are to be expected and are surely proper.

But humans and especially professionals must sometimes object, oppose, even obstruct when courage and vision mingle with work and sacrifice and aim at a great objective. It is the expression of mixture in our nature of true criticism and false concern. The present writer just recently read the life of Louis Pasteur and he cannot help mentioning how Pasteur's most significant work, and doubtless the greatest contribution by one man to human welfare, the discovery of germs and the consequent urge for sterile technique in treatment of the sick and in operations, was objected to and resisted and even jeered at, from among the very men who should have all had the keenest interest in them and been their staunchest supporters — the physicians! Yet progress in good work in science and learning has always been made and will keep on being made.

In musicology good progress in the publication of sources is the primary need, the first challenge to the intelligent and sincere musicologist, and the compelling task before us under which all else should find its proper hierarchy. Above all, we cannot be satisfied with „Musician's Digests", with sources in capsule form. The age of selections and anthologies *as sources,* or even as examples for the serious student, is past. Anthologies are useful as handy collections in secondary education or for the music lover. But serious scientific work will never come of age if nourished on material of the kind, no matter how well prepared and how good their intentions. Nor must we be now detained by the sober consideration that editions of complete sources may be premature since musicology is only a very young discipline. It is young enough to need the sources with urgency; it is young enough to be likely not to do the perfect and eternally valid job, if such is conceivable in anything human; but precisely for all this, comprehensive and definitive editions are, to say the least, in order. Take them, if you like, as temporary things, as if there were anything permanent in human affairs. Let fifty or more years hence revised editions be done. If so, they will be done only because of their predecessors. The vast editions of the collected works of Palestrina and Bach are being redone now. Surely no serious musicologist would deny that the old editions were worth having, much less assert that they were a waste and that up to now some selections could have done just as well!

A. C.

A NEW PERIODICAL

Musica Disciplina greets the birth of a sister periodical, *Annales Musicologiques. Musica Disciplina* notes with satisfaction the adoption by the new periodical of features and practices first presented by *Musica Disciplina,* and for which a certain pioneer's front line had to be held: confine-

ment to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, use of more than native language, offering the reader material (as lists and contents of sources) with a view to furthering musical research, arrangement of contents in a chronological order, exclusion of book reviews, and other features.

Musica Disciplina wishes the several editors of the *Annales Musicologiques* success in their joint endeavor and a long and prosperous life to their publication.

LE SPECULUM MUSICAE DU COMPILATEUR JACQUES DE LIEGE

II

ROGER BRAGARD

(*Suite*)

VII — LA QUESTION DE L'ORIGINE LIEGEOISE DU SPECULUM MUSICAE ET DE SON AUTEUR

Lorsque, dans Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VII, pp. 180-181, Besseler affirmait que: *a*) Iacobus est originaire de Liége, *b*) qu'il étudia à Paris dans le dernier quart du XIIIe siècle où il subit les influences déterminantes de Pierre de la Croix et *c*) que, dans sa vieillesse, il composa à Liége sa grande encyclopédie musicale, *d*) pas avant 1330, Besseler, dis-je, n'apportait aucune preuve suffisante pour les points *a, b, c*. Quant au point *d*, nous nous rallions à Wolf et à Besseler qui en ont démontré la pertinence [169].

Nous nous contenterons donc d'examiner ici les trois autres affirmations en commençant, pour la clarté de notre exposé, par *b* et *c* pour la vraisemblance desquels existaient de certaines présomptions, et nous terminerons par *a* dont la moindre preuve n'a jamais été apportée.

b

Pour *b*, Besseler se base sur le fait que Iacobus parle de Pierre de la Croix comme s'il l'avait vraiment connu et sur les passages suivants extraits du *Speculum Musicae:* 1) *Ego puto me Parisius a quodam audivisse sex vocum haec nomina: pro, to, do, no, ni, a.* 2) *Item videtur mihi Parisius audivisse triplum a magistro Franchone* [170].

A ces deux extraits, nous en ajouterons deux autres, inconnus jusqu'ici: 3) *Ponitur enim quandoque plus de tempore ubi minus pertransitur de spatio. Unde possibile est aliquem de Sancto Dionisio iuxta Parisius sub aequali tempore venire Parisius cum alio qui venit ibidem de Monte Martyrum. Mobile enim velocius in aequali tempore plus pertransit de*

[169] Nous avons exposé cette question au chapitre V de cette étude.

[170] Ces passages se trouvent respectivement aux L. VI c. LXII et L. VII c. XVII (Coussemaker, T II, pp. 281a et 402a).

spatio quam mobile tardius. 4) *Timens autem ne tacta Boethii Musica mihi concessa tolleretur a me, ... qui de duobus primis libris, quos Parisius audieram, aliqua extraxeram, plura coepi et de illis et de aliis excerpere . . . .* [171].

En somme, de ces quatre extraits, il n'y en a qu'un seul, ignoré d'ailleurs de Besseler, qui établisse avec certitude que Iacobus a travaillé à Paris; c'est celui où l'auteur déclare: *qui de duobus primis libris, quos Parisius audieram, aliqua extraxeram . . . .*, car ici le verbe *audire* est pris dans le sens qu'il pouvait déjà avoir à l'époque de Cicéron (*Cleanthes qui Zenonem audivit*). Les autres extraits n'apportent, en effet, à eux seuls que de fortes présomptions basées sur le fait qu'un clerc se rendant à Paris et y séjournant devait s'y adonner à l'étude.

D'autres éléments, inconnus ou négligés jusqu'ici, vont renforcer notre certitude d'un séjour prolongé de Iacobus à Paris.

En de nombreux endroits de son oeuvre, et particulièrement dans ses trois premiers livres, il cite Kilwardby, un Hugovicio et un Iordanus.

Contrairement à ce que Grossmann a affirmé, Kilwardby fut, non seulement élève, mais aussi professeur „à l'école de Paris", dominicain avant de déposer la robe pour devenir archevêque de Cantorbery, thomiste et non antithomiste. Deux exemplaires au moins de son oeuvre figuraient déjà au XIIIe siècle à la bibliothèque de la Sorbonne [172].

Il existe pas mal d'Hugovicio à l'époque médiévale, et dont les oeuvres n'ont pas encore été imprimées. Nous aurions pu encore chercher longtemps de quel Hugovicio il s'agissait ici si, en un seul endroit de son volumineux traité, Iacobus n'avait pas cité les „Derivationes" de cet auteur [173]. Celui-ci, Hugues de Pise, fut chanoine de Reims, évêque de Rouen en 1247, archevêque de Nicosie en 1251, et mourut vers 1268 [174]. Or, dans le catalogue de 1338 de la Sorbonne, on trouve, mentionnées parmi les *libri grammaticales,* des oeuvres de Hugues de Pise ou inspirées de lui telles que celles-ci: *Quedam tabula significatorum quorundam nominum et derivacionum secundum ordinem alphabetici* [*super Hugutionem*], et, un peu plus loin, sous la même rubrique: *Item quidam tractatus Hugonis Pisani* [175]. Dans une

[171] Extraits tirés respectivement des L. I c. XXV, 17 et L. II c. LVI, 17. On trouvera le second extrait placé dans son contexte en se reportant au chapitre V de cette étude (*Musica Disciplina* VII, p. 100).

[172] Hauréau, *Histoire de la Philosophie scolastique* (Paris, Pedone-Lauriel, 1872-1888) Seconde partie, tome second, pp. 28-29.

[173] *Speculum Musicae,* L. II c. LXIII, 5.

[174] Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis* (Florentiae, T. Barachi, 1858); Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* II, p. 155; Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age.*

[175] Delisle, *op. cit., III, p. 80.* La Bibliothèque Nationale possède actuellement

autre librairie, celle du Louvre, on découvre aussi, dans des catalogues dressés dans le dernier quart du XIVe siècle et plus tard, un *Hugueio de derivationibus nominum et verborum,* et, en français, un *Derivouer, qui traitte et est exposicion du mos, ainsi que fait Huguce ou Catholicon, en latin* [176].

Quant au Iordanus souvent cité par Iacobus dans son *Speculum Musicae* et auquel il emprunte des pages entières en les développant, il n'est rien d'autre que ce Iordanus Nemorarius ou Jordan le Forestier, célèbre mathématicien du XIIIe siècle qui vécut à Paris [177].

Enfin, Iacobus critique les théories d'un auteur dont il ne cite pas le nom [178]. Or le seul théoricien connu qui puisse prêter le flan à de telles observations est Jérôme de Moravie [179] dont l'oeuvre fut écrite à Paris et ne nous est parvenue que par un seul manuscrit qui fut légué à la bibliothèque de la Sorbonne par Pierre de Limoges [180].

Comme on le voit, les théoriciens auxquels Iacobus eut recours pour les premiers livres de son encyclopédie appartinrent à l'orbe parisienne. Nous n'avons pas découvert à Liége l'existence, à cette époque, d'un tel faisceau de ces sources auxquelles il aurait pu avoir recours. Il ne nous paraît donc guère probable que ce soit dans la Cité des Princes-Evêques que Jacques ait rédigé, ou tout au moins préparé, les premiers livres de son *Speculum Musicae.*

c

Pour déclarer que le *Speculum Musicae* avait été écrit à Liége dans la vieillesse de son auteur, Besseler, nous l'avons vu [181], reprenait avec plus d'assurance, mais sans apporter de preuves nouvelles, des arguments présentés, les uns par Steglich, les autres par Ludwig. Ces deux auteurs se basaient sur des passages tirés *uniquement* des deux derniers livres de cette encyclopédie.

Selon Steglich, c'est à Liége même que l'auteur du *Speculum Musicae*

une dizaine de manuscrits de ces „Derivationes", dont quatre proviennent de l'ancienne bibliothèque de la Sorbonne.

[176] Delisle, *op. cit.,* III, pp. 162-163.

[177] Près de 25 chapitres du Livre III (cc. XXV-XLVII et cc. L-LI) du *Speculum Musicae* contiennent de ces emprunts au traité d'arithmétique de Iordanus. Nous avons eu l'occasion d'en faire la comparaison en nous basant sur un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, le *Latinus 7364* (*Colbertinus*) du XIVe siècle et intitulé: *Iordanus de Nemore, De elementis aritmetice artis.* — Signalons aussi que ce traité a été publié à Paris, en 1496, par les soins de Fabre d'Etaples; la Bibliothèque Nationale en possède 2 exemplaires ainsi que 3 exemplaires d'une édition postérieure, celle de 1514.

[178] *Speculum Musicae,* L. II c. LXXXVII, 12 et c. XCI, 7.

[179] Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* T. I, pp. 72b - 73a.

[180] Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* T. I, p. VI.

[181] *Musica Disciplina,* VII, pp. 94-95.

aurait appris à connaître les *Quaestiones in Musica* que l'on ne rencontre que dans deux manuscrits d'origine liégeoise [182] et dont il se serait servi dans son sixième livre seulement. C'est aussi seulement dans ce sixième livre qu'en quatre endroits ce même auteur aurait signalé et réprouvé certaines pratiques musicales des églises séculières liégeoises [183].

Ceci suffirait-il, comme le croit Steglich, pour avancer que le sixième livre aurait été écrit à Liége? Nous ne le croyons pas, car on pourrait tout aussi bien supposer que c'est à Paris qui, depuis la création de son Université, était devenu un des principaux centres de ralliement pour les clercs de toute la chrétienté, que Iacobus a connu par des étudiants originaires de la Principauté les *Quaestiones in Musica* et les pratiques vocales de leurs églises séculières.

Voyons maintenant la question des motets dont certains fragments seraient reproduits par Iacobus dans son septième livre et auraient été repris par lui à un manuscrit en dialecte wallon, actuellement à la Biblioteca Nazionale de Turin [184], mais originaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques à Liége.

Steglich n'en souffle mot. Quant à Ludwig, qui semble bien n'avoir connu le septième livre du *Speculum Musicae* que par l'édition de Coussemaker (nous verrons tout-à-l'heure l'importance de ceci), il se contente de constater que l'auteur de cette encyclopédie reproduisait des „tripla" qui figurent aussi bien dans le manuscrit de Montpellier que dans celui de Turin [185]. C'est à un tout autre endroit de son étude que l'éminent musicologue allemand, venant à faire l'analyse de ce manuscrit de Turin en en donnant aussi un aperçu des oeuvres qu'il contient, déclarait que les oeuvres contenues dans ce recueil était en dialecte wallon [186]. Bien plus, dans cet aperçu, Ludwig ne cite même pas ces „tripla" signalés par Iacobus dans son *Speculum*. A aucun endroit de son étude, Ludwig n'établit donc une relation de parenté entre ce manuscrit originaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques et les „tripla" du septième livre du *Speculum Musicae*. Par contre, en se basant sur ce qu'en avait publié Coussemaker et sur ce que disait Ludwig du dialecte wallon de ces mêmes pages musicales dans le manuscrit de Turin, Besseler émit l'opinion que l'extrait du *Speculum* avait été copié directement sur ce manuscrit d'origine liégeoise [187].

[182] L'un, provenant de l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques, figure actuellement sous le n° 1988 à la Bibliothèque de Darmstadt; l'autre, originaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Laurent, se rencontre sous le n° 10165 du recueil 10162-66 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles.

[183] Coussemaker, *op. cit.*, T. II, pp. 249a, 249b, 324b et 328a.

[184] Turin, Vari 42.

[185] *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, T. V, p. 295.

[186] *Ibidem*, pp. 205-206.

[187] *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, T. VII, pp. 180-181.

Or, outre que le manuscrit de Turin ne possède pas des textes wallons, mais des textes français revêtus „d'un habit à la wallonne" [188], le texte des fragments de „tripla" cités dans l'édition du *Speculum* se présentent, avec une graphie française qui est bien proche de la graphie du manuscrit de Montpellier [189], originaire très vraisemblablement de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre [190]. Qu'on en juge:

Speculum Musicae (d'après Coussemaker)	*Montpellier*	*Turin*
(p. 401 a-b): S'amours eust point de poir. Je m'en deuisse bien	(f. 270r): S'amours eust point de poer .... Je m'en deusse bien	(f. 24v - 25r): S'amours ewist point de pooir. Je m'en dewisse bien ....
(p. 401 b): Aucun ont trouvé .... Mais à moi en donne okoison .... rebaudist mon corage si qu'il .... li ai fait houmage pour	(fol. 273r): Aucun ont trouvé .... Mes à moi en doune ochoison .... rebaudist mon courage si que (m'estuet) .... li ai fait houmage pour	(f. 14r - 14v): Aucun ont troveit .... Mais à moi en done ocaison .... resbaudist mun corage si k'ilh .... li ai fait homage por ....

Il est bien certain que les graphies typiquement wallonnes: „ewist" et „dewisse" que l'on rencontrait dans *Turin,* alors qu'elle ne se trouvait pas dans le texte du *Speculum* publié par Coussemaker, aurait dû faire hésiter Besseler sur la parenté de ces deux textes, comme elle nous en a fait douter jusqu'au jour où, ayant pris connaissance de ces passages sur le *Parisinus Latinus 7207* lui-même, nous avons constaté le peu de crédit que l'on devait accorder à la fidélité de la transcription de Coussemaker. En effet, ce manuscrit contenant le *Speculum Musicae* porte bien, lui aussi, „ewist" et „dewisse".

Ajoutons à cela que, dans le texte musical, le manuscrit de *Turin* aussi bien que le *Speculum* marquent des points de séparation alors que *Montpellier* les a omis. Nous avons donc en cela un supplément de preuve que le manuscrit liégeois, et non celui de Montpellier, a servi à Iacobus.

Il s'avère ainsi que, selon toute probabilité, le dernier livre au moins de l'oeuvre immense de Jacques a été écrit à Liége.

Cependant il manquait encore l'élément frappant qui devait nous amener à une certitude presque absolue.

Cet élément, qui nous permettra aussi de dire que le sixième livre a été écrit également à Liége, nous le présenterons au cours de l'examen de la

[188] Antoine Auda, *Les „Motets Wallons" du manuscrit de Turin: Vari 42* (Chez l'auteur, Centrale Don Bosco, 90, avenue du Val d'Or, Woluwe-St-Pierre, Bruxelles), Vol. I, p. 6.

[189] Montpellier, Ecole de Médecine, II, 196.

[190] Yvonne Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIII° siècle* (Paris, Oiseau-Lyre, 1939), T. IV, pp. 11 et 30-33.

question: „Jacques, avant de résider à Paris, a-t-il passé sa jeunesse à Liége et, par conséquent, y est-il vraisemblablement né?"

a

L'affirmation de cette origine liégeoise de Iacobus, ni Besseler, ni quiconque ne l'a, jusqu'ici, étayée de la moindre preuve. Aurait-il été démontré que ce théoricien avait écrit les deux derniers livres, et même l'entièreté de sa prodigieuse encyclopédie dans la cité des Princes-Evêques au déclin de sa vie, que rien ne prouverait qu'il s'agit là de l'oeuvre d'un Liégeois plutôt que celle d'un étranger qui serait venu terminer ses jours sur les bords de la Meuse.

Voici l'élément de toute première importance qui nous manquait pour établir que l'auteur du *Speculum Musicae* a fait ses premières études à Liége et que, par conséquent, il est très vraisemblablement né dans cette cité ou dans la Principauté.

Au moment où Iacobus envisageait d'écrire son volumineux traité, il avait été mis en possession d'un exemplaire complet du *De Institutione Musica* de Boèce qui l'avait amené à rejeter, dit-il, des théories qu'il avait émises autrefois *in aliquibus Musicae tractatibus* [191].

Notons d'abord qu'il ne faut pas nécessairement donner au mot *tractatus* le sens de „traité" ou oeuvre complète sur un sujet déterminé, ainsi qu'on l'entend aujourd'hui. Très souvent Iacobus désigne par *tractatus* un seul chapitre, complet en lui-même, de son *Speculum Musicae* [192]. Par conséquent, lorsqu'il parle d'*aliqui tractatus,* il peut très bien ne désigner par là qu'une série de points traités dans un seul ouvrage, sans même que celui-ci soit nécessairement divisé en chapitres numérotés.

Or, le seul ouvrage *anonyme* où se retrouvent les théories que rejette maintenant Iacobus, à savoir que les demi-tons majeur et mineur sont respectivement dans les proportions 17-16 et 18-17, c'est l'*Anonymus I* publié par Coussemaker d'après le *seul* manuscrit qui le contient, à savoir le *Bruxellensis 10162* qui provient de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Laurent à Liége [193].

Ainsi donc, ce petit traité *Anonymus I* de Coussemaker, d'origine liégeoise, serait en réalité une oeuvre de jeunesse de Jacques.

Si nous poursuivons l'examen comparatif des deux oeuvres, nous y découvrirons une parenté de plus en plus étroite. C'est ainsi que l'*Ano-*

[191] Voir notre étude dans *Musica Disciplina,* VII, p. 99.

[192] L. II, c. LXXVI, 7: *Haec consonantia diapente findit, sed non aequaliter, ut tactum est in Tractatu de Diapente,* c'est-à-dire dans le chapitre XXX du livre II — L. II, c. LXXVIII, 12: .... *qui .... in Tractatu Maioris Semitonii positus est,* c'est-à-dire dans le ch. LXIIII du livre II; etc.

[193] Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* T. I, p. 300a.

nymus I commence ex abrupto par un chant noté sur les consonances: *Tredecim consonantiae sunt quibus omnis ecclesiasticus cantus contexitur, scilicet: Unisonus* .... Dans ce chant, il mentionne, outre les consonances usuelles, le *tritonus* et le *ditonus cum diapente*. Or, de tous les traités qui nous sont connus, seul le *Speculum Musicae* contient le même chant noté [194]. Bien plus, c'est Iacobus lui-même qui, au moment où il va nous livrer ce chant sur les consonances, nous indique sa source. En effet, après avoir dressé la liste des consonances parmi lesquelles il a fait figurer le *tritonus* et le *ditonus cum diapente,* il poursuit par: „Et ceci apparaît, à titre d'exemple, dans un certain chant placé en tête d'un autre ouvrage succinct au sujet des consonances et des tons et de l'intonation des tons ou modes sur les psaumes" [195].

* * *

Il ne peut donc y avoir aucun doute. L'*in principio cuiusdam alterius brevis operis* correspond exactement à la place qu'occupe le chant dans l'*Anonymus I* publié par Coussemaker.

Immédiatement vient à l'esprit une objection d'importance: Iacobus signale un ouvrage succinct mais dans lequel il est traité non seulement des consonances, mais aussi des tons et de leur intonation sur les psaumes. Or, l'*Anonymus I,* tel que l'a publié Coussemaker d'après le *Bruxellensis 10162,* ne contient qu'une étude des consonances, à l'exclusion de toute autre, à tel point que cet éditeur a intitulé ce petit traité: *Tractatus de Consonantiis Musicalibus.*

En réalité, le *Bruxellensis 10162* contient bien, en un seul cahier (fol. 13 à fol. 24), deux *tractatus* qui se suivent. Le premier (fol. 13r - 15v), sans titre et commençant immédiatement par le chant sur les consonances repris par Iacobus, se termine par: *Explicit tractatus de consonantiis musicalibus.* C'est celui qui a été publié par Coussemaker. Le second (fol. 15v - 22v), inédit, débute par: *In huius opusculi capitulo primo ars tonorum traditur generalis* et se termine par: *Explicit tractatus intonationis tonorum* [196]. Or, dans ce second traité, nous trouverons, ainsi que nous le montrerons plus loin, des règles et exemples qui seront repris, plus tard, dans le *Speculum Musicae.*

[194] Cette parenté a déjà été signalée par Smits van Waesberghe, *Muziekgeschiedenis der Middeleeuwen,* Deel I, 390.

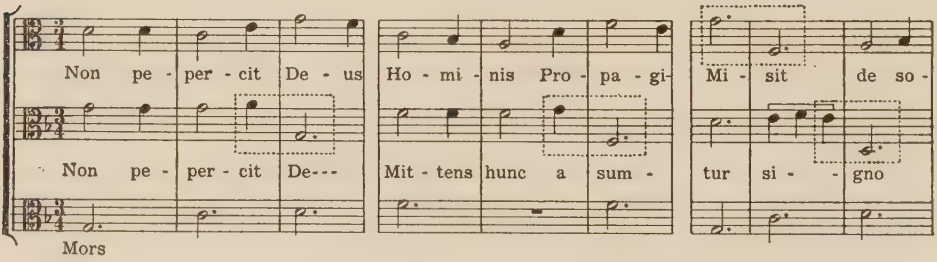
[195] *Speculum Musicae,* L. II, c. XIIII, 3: *Et hoc exemplariter patet in quodam cantu, posito in principio cuiusdam alterius brevis operis de consonantiis et tonis et tonorum vel modorum intonatione super psalmos.*

[196] Signalons que les folios 1-12 du *Bruxellensis 10162* forment un cahier ne possédant aucun texte. Les folios 23 et 24, dans le second cahier, eux aussi sont vides.

Après cette parenthèse, revenons à l'*Anonymus I,* tel que nous l'a fait connaître Coussemaker.

* * *

En confrontant l'*Anonymus I* et le *Speculum Musicae,* nous constaterons encore, qu'ils sont, à notre connaissance, les seuls traités qui font état du motet: *Non pepercit Deus nato proprio,* et précisément pour citer en exemple un chant mesuré dans lequel s'opère un saut de plus d'une octave [197]. Effectivement, dans ce motet (qui n'a été conservé que dans le manuscrit *Ed. IV 6* de la bibliothèque de Bamberg), sans aller bien loin, nous trouvons déjà les quatre sauts suivants de neuvième (d'après la transcription de Pierre Aubry) [198]:



Nous trouvons en outre, dans l'*Anonymus I,* la définition suivante: *Unisonus est consonantia unius vocis a qua non sit progressio* [199]. Elle n'a pu être empruntée qu'au *Tractatus de Musica* du Pseudo-Aristote dont le texte est le suivant: *Unisonus autem dicitur sonus unius vocis a qua non fit progressio* [200]. Si, maintenant, nous nous tournons vers le *Speculum Musicae,* nous découvrirons (non pas, comme on pourrait le croire, dans le chapitre *Quid sit unisonus,* mais au début du chapitre précédent intitulé: *Utrum unisonus sit consonantia*) le passage que voici: *Videtur aliquibus unisonum non esse consonantiam. Dicit enim quaedam unisoni definitio sic: „Unisonus est <sonus> unius vocis a qua non fit progressio"* [201].

[197] *Anonymus I,* (Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* I, p. 302a) et *Speculum Musicae,* L. II, c. XIII, 10-11: *Ideo qui aliquantum cantum planum ecclesiasticum immediate supra diapason, utendo consonantiis quae sequuntur diapason, prout suas voces extremas immediate respiciunt, ascendere facit vel descendere, peccat, nec debet talis cantus in ecclesia recipi. Secus est de cantibus mensuratis. Patet in motetto illo „Non pepercit Deus nato proprio ...."*

[198] P. Aubry, *Cent Motets du XIIIe siècle, publiés d'après le manuscrit Ed. IV-6 de la bibliothèque de Bamberg* (Paris, Rouart et Lerolle, 1908), Motet n° LXVI.

[199] *Coussemaker,* T. I, p. 298a.

[200] *Ibidem,* p. 257a.

[201] L. II, c. X, 1.

Au cours de ce chapitre, Iacobus s'efforce de démontrer que, puisque les consonances sont basées sur les proportions et que l'égalité de deux termes est aussi une véritable proportion, l'unisson doit être de même considéré comme une consonance.

Nous ne pouvons nous étendre ici sur tous les moyens d'argumentation apportés par Iacobus pour défendre cette thèse. Mais s'il est vraiment le même personnage que l'*Anonymus I,* on comprend qu'ayant écrit, dans sa jeunesse, le mot *consonantia* au lieu de *sonus* parce qu'il le pensait ainsi et parce que le contexte, même pris au sens large, du Pseudo-Aristote ne lui montrait pas que ce dernier déniait à l'unisson la vertu de consonance, on comprend donc que, dans sa vieillesse, ayant constaté que ce Pseudo-Aristote ne se montrait pas aussi formel qu'il le croyait [202], il ait consacré, dans le *Speculum Musicae,* un très long chapitre pour démontrer l'exactitude de ce qu'il avait écrit autrefois. On ne voit guère d'autre raison pour expliquer la longueur inusitée de ce chapitre.

* * *

Tournons maintenant nos regards vers le traité sur l'intonation des tons qui, dans le *Bruxellensis 10162,* succède immédiatement au traité sur les consonances musicales publié comme *Anonymus I* par Coussemaker.

Dès ses premières lignes, nous rencontrons la définition: *Tonus .... est plurium vocum quasi simul tonantium concors sonoritas* et cette autre: *Tonus est principii discretio ascensionisque ac descensionis cuiuslibet cantus regularis,* que l'on retrouvera, la première mot pour mot, la seconde dans son esprit, au chapitre XXXVI du Livre VI du *Speculum Musicae,* chapitre au cours duquel apparaîtront encore d'autres définitions.

Tout ce qui suit dans le manuscrit de Bruxelles ne sera rien d'autre qu'un exposé succinct de la matière développée beaucoup plus dans les chapitres XXXVI-XXXIX du Livre VI de ce même *Speculum Musicae.*

Il est très intéressant de noter qu'à partir d'ici et jusqu'au chapitre

[202] C'est bien au Pseudo-Aristote que Iacobus a emprunté la définition précédente, et il semble persister à croire qu'il l'a bien comprise, car, au même L. II, c. X, 29-30, il argumente ainsi: *Dicendum quod, si intelligatur quod sit unius vocis simpliciter et non plurium, verum est quod talis unisonus non est consonantia; sed potest illa definitio sic exponi: „Unisonus est unius vocis, idest similis vocis, iteratio a qua non fit progressio ad inaequales voces, manente unisono". Et hoc intellexisse videtur qui illam posuit definitionem. Dicit enim quod, statim quod fit processus ad aliam vocem inaequalem, scilicet ascendendo quantumcumque modicum, vel descendendo, fit vel tonus, vel semitonium et desinit esse unisonum.* Et, en effet, c'est bien à la suite de sa définition de l'unisson que le Pseudo-Aristote dit: *si vero progrediatur a quadam voce, vocem tangendo, propter quam tunc aliquando fit tonus, aliquando semitonium.*

LXXVIII, Iacobus, dans son volumineux traité, recourra à d'autres sources, notamment au *De Musica cum Tonario* de Jean d'Afflighem et aux *Quaestiones in Musica*. Par contre, lorsqu'il traitera de l'intonation psalmodique dans les différents modes (chapitres LXXIX-CXII), c'est aussi bien à tout le restant du traité (fol. 17v - 22v) contenu dans le *Bruxellensis 10162* qu'aux autres sources que nous venons de citer qu'il empruntera, non seulement une partie de son texte, mais aussi ses exemples musicaux. Et, chose importante à signaler, les textes et les exemples qu'il emprunte à l'opuscule du *Bruxellensis 10162* ne se retrouvent pas ailleurs.

Il ne nous est pas possible, dans une étude comme celle-ci, de faire la preuve détaillée de ce que nous déclarons; nous établirons cette preuve dans un autre travail. Nous nous bornerons donc à signaler que, lorsque dans le *Speculum,* Jacques, en abordant l'étude des tons de chants appelés antiennes et introits, ajoute: *Hoc autem utilius viris ecclesiasticis videtur quam de ceteris cantibus* [203], il emprunte textuellement cette dernière phrase au chapitre intitulé: *In hoc capitulo declaratur qualiter antiphonarum tonus per ipsarum saeculorum agnosci valeat* [204] en même temps qu'il en développe le contenu.

Plus loin, le texte: *Debet qui vult per psalmum antiphonam intonare .... debet terminare* [205] ainsi que les deux quatrains contenus dans le même chapitre du *Speculum* sont empruntés au même opuscule [206].

Les huit *differentiae* signalées comme ayant été observées dans beaucoup d'églises, *ut in Gallicanis et forsan Romanis* [207] sont notées aussi (mais sans qu'il y soit question des églises qui les ont utilisées) dans le *Bruxellensis 10162* [208]; leur ordre est seulement légèrement différent. Après l'énoncé des huit *differentiae,* le *Speculum* en examine, dans le restant du chapitre, les différentes applications, tandis que l'auteur de l'opuscule se contente de déclarer que son intention „présente" n'est pas de traiter ce sujet et nous annonce que, pour le moment, il passe à l'intonation des antiennes du premier ton [209].

Lorsque le *Speculum Musicae* passera, au chapitre suivant (LXXXV), à l'étude de cette intonation, il nous livrera, immédiatement, le premier

[203] Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* II, p. 317b.

[204] *Brux. 10162,* fol. 17r a.

[205] Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* II, p. 322a-b.

[206] *Brux. 10162,* fol. 17v: *Capitulum in quo traditur notitia generalis intonationis tonorum.*

[207] Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* II, p. 329a.

[208] fol. 17r.

[209] fol. 18r: *Quomodo autem, ex diversa quattuor principiorum primi toni combinatione, horum octo concordantiae modorum habeatur distinctio, intentionis nostrae nunc praesentis non est .... Nunc ad intonationem antiphonarum primi toni descendamus.*

exemple noté: *Dixit Dominus .... dextris meis* qui se rencontre aussi dans l'opuscule [210]; ici se succèdent, avec brefs commentaires, le *Nos qui vivimus .... Domino* et l'*In exitu .... barbaro* [211].

Ce n'est pas tout, car, comme dans le *Speculum,* nous trouverons, pour suivre, dans le *Bruxellensis 10162,* après un plus bref commentaire, le premier des deux *Benedictus .... Dominum* [212].

Après ceci, l'opuscule se poursuivra par un texte: *Si vero, propter dictionum vel sillabarum paucitatem ante medium alicuius versus stantium, intonationis primi toni proprietas, quantum ad principium et quantum ad medium, pariter nequeat observari, tunc, dimissa principii proprietate, medii proprietas salvanda est,* qui ressemble étrangement à un texte du *Speculum,* mais placé à un autre endroit [213] et qui, là comme ici, est suivi de l'exemple noté: *Deus, Deus .... vigilo.*

A cet exemple, le manuscrit originaire de Saint-Laurent fera succéder la remarque suivante: *Habet autem quilibet tonus suam caudam quae etiam neuma vocatur, sive oda, sive iubilus. Est igitur toni primi cauda talis* qui, comme dans le *Speculum* [214], est suivie de son exemple.

* * *

Nous croyons en avoir assez dit, en nous bornant au seul premier ton, pour démontrer sans aucun doute possible que l'„ouvrage succinct au sujet des consonances et des tons et de l'intonation des tons ou modes sur les psaumes" que Jacques signale à ses lecteurs [215], n'est rien d'autre que ces deux traités qui, en réalité, à l'origine ne devaient en former qu'un et qui, plus tard, par la volonté d'un copiste, se trouvèrent séparés, mais en un seul cahier, dans le *Bruxellensis 10162.*

Avant d'en finir avec cette question, qu'on nous permette de traduire in extenso la conclusion de l'opuscule anonyme sur l'intonation des tons. Ce qui y est dit nous fournira de nouveaux arguments en faveur de ce que nous considérons maintenant comme plus que probable: ce traité, ou plutôt ce chapitre [216] sur l'intonation des tons, formerait, avec celui sur les consonances musicales qui le précède, une oeuvre, sinon la seule oeuvre de jeunesse de Iacobus.

[210] fol. 18r.
[211] fol. 18r. Ces deux exemples figurent dans Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* II, p. 353a.
[212] fol. 18r. Coussemaker, II, p. 335b.
[213] fol. 18r et v: Coussemaker, II, p. 334a.
[214] fol. 18v: Coussemaker, II, p. 336a.
[215] Voir, dans notre étude, la note 195.
[216] Voir plus haut, p. 6, le sens que peut avoir le terme „tractatus".

Voici cette conclusion:

> „Que suffise donc, pour l'instant, ce bref *tractatus* sur les tons, dans lequel nous ne nous sommes pas appliqué à développer tout ce qui est relatif à la technique des tons, mais seulement ce qui nous a paru être plutôt nécessaire à leur intonation. Ce ne fut pas en effet notre intention de vouloir ici donner entière satisfaction à l'égard de la science des tons (notre faible intelligence, en effet, n'y suffirait pas), mais plutôt d'exaucer, par cet opuscule, les prières d'une certaine personne. Peut-être quelques-unes des choses qui, traitant des tons, ont été maintenant passées sous silence, seront-elles données ailleurs en complément" [217].

Il ressort de ce texte final que: 1) l'auteur de ce *tractatus* ne considère pas cette oeuvre comme complète et définitive, mais plutôt comme une esquisse (*quoad praesens sufficiat; non omnia .... studuimus; non intentionis fuit .... satisfacere velle*); 2) la faiblesse de son intelligence, vraisemblablement due à son âge encore peu avancé, ne lui permettait pas en ce moment d'écrire un travail exhaustif (*neque .... sufficeret*); 3) si cependant il a abordé le sujet qu'il traite, c'est qu'il y a été poussé par une volonté étrangère à la sienne (*sed potius .... exaudire*); 4) il espère (*fortassis*) compléter dans un autre ouvrage (*alias*) ce qu'il a passé maintenant sous silence.

* * *

Les textes confrontés et les arguments que nous venons de présenter nous paraissent suffisamment probants pour admettre que:

1) les deux *tractatus,* figurant comme tels dans le *Bruxellensis 10162* ne sont qu'une copie du XVe siècle d'une oeuvre originairement unique et qui ne serait rien d'autre que le *Breve opus de consonantiis et tonis et tonorum vel modorum intonatione super psalmos* signalé par Jacques dans son *Speculum Musicae.*

2) cette oeuvre, recopiée en deux *tractatus* à l'abbaye de Saint-Laurent à Liége, étant la seule connue qui contiennent les mêmes erreurs que celles que Jacques, dans son *Speculum Musicae,* déclare avoir commises autrefois, peut être considérée comme étant plus que probablement ces *aliqui Musicae tractatus* dont il s'attribue la paternité.

[217] Bruxellensis 10162, fol. 22v: *Hic igitur brevis de tonis tractatus quoad praesens sufficiat, in quo non omnia tonorum arti spectantia explicare studuimus, sed tantum quae visa nobis sunt eorum intonationi necessaria magis esse. Non enim intentionis fuit nostrae hic tonorum satisfacere velle scientiae, neque ad hoc nostri ingenii debilitas sufficeret, sed potius per hoc opusculum personae cuiusdam velle praeces exandire. Fortassis autem aliqua, quae de tonis obmissa nunc sunt, alias supplebuntur.*

A ceux qui n'admettraient pas notre thèse et qui, comme objection majeure, nous feraient remarquer que, dans la phrase: *Et hoc exemplariter . . . . super psalmos,* Jacques ne revendique pas pour lui la paternité de ce bref ouvrage, nous répondrons qu'ici, contrairement à son habitude lorsqu'il parle d'un autre musicien, il n'ajoute pas: *valens doctor* ou *quidam musicus,* mais se contente de l'expression *cuiusdam alterius brevis operis.*

En ne se citant pas, Iacobus obéit encore à cet esprit de modestie qui le caractérise, sauf lorsqu'il parle de ses fautes. N'est-ce pas ce même caractère d'une modestie native que l'on découvre déjà dans l'*ingenii debilitas* de la conclusion dont nous avons donné la traduction plus haut? Il suffira d'ailleurs de comparer cette conclusion à celle, toute d'humilité, qui figure dans l'ultime chapitre du *Speculum Musicae* pour être frappé par la similitude expressive que l'on saisit ici et là.

Quant au contenu même du *Tractatus de Consonantiis Musicalibus,* il est nettement d'inspiration franconienne, ainsi que l'avait déjà remarqué de Coussemaker lorsqu'il l'avait publié comme *Anonymus I* [218]. Or, de l'aveu même de Iacobus, c'est afin de défendre l'art de Francon le Teuton qu'il avait autrefois entrepris de disserter sur la musique [219]. N'y a-t-il pas encore ici un rapprochement curieux à faire entre cette déclaration, énoncée au début du *Speculum Musicae,* et le *Tractatus de Consonantiis Musicalibus?*

CONCLUSION

Voici donc comment, en nous basant sur les maigres renseignements que nous avons de lui, nous nous imaginons le *curriculum vitae* de celui qui, par son *Speculum Musicae,* se présente à nous comme l'auteur du traité musical le plus vaste que le Moyen Age nous ait livré:

Jacques serait né vers 1260 dans la Principauté liégeoise, sinon à Liége même, où il aurait passé la première partie de sa jeunesse.

S'étant attaché à l'étude de la musique sous la direction d'un maître et dans un milieu imbus des théories franconiennes, il en aurait subi une influence profonde et durable.

En ce moment, il est prié par une certaine personne de son entourage d'écrire un manuel sur les consonances et sur l'intonation des psaumes. Comme tout étudiant, il a recours, pour ce faire, à la compilation. Qu'a-t-il, en ce moment, à sa disposition? Des ouvrages de musiciens qu'il qualifie d'éminents (*valentes*) et qui, dans leurs traités, ont reproduit des fragments du *De Institutione Musica* de Boèce en les commentant d'une façon er-

[218] Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* I, p. XIX.
[219] Voir *Musica Disciplina,* VII, p. 98.

ronée. Jacques ne s'aperçoit pas de ces erreurs, car à ce jour il n'a pas encore eu entre les mains cette *summa* de la théorie gréco-romaine, et, l'eût-il même eue, son inexpérience ne lui aurait peut-être pas permis de déceler la mauvaise interprétation qu'en avaient faite ses commentateurs. Par contre, il est déjà capable de juger par lui-même les nouveautés apportées par les *moderni* et il les réprouve, en paroles seulement. Pourtant, il projette déjà de les attaquer un jour par la plume. Il se rend cependant compte que sa formation n'est pas encore suffisante pour entreprendre une telle tâche. Il ira la parfaire à Paris, ce haut lieu de la pensée vers lequel convergent les clercs les mieux doués de son temps.

Là, il fréquentera les cours de l'Université. Nous pouvons nous imaginer qu'outre les deux premiers livres du *De Institutione Musica* de Boèce, il y entendra normalement des traités de philosophie, de théologie et d'autres disciplines jugées nécessaires à la formation d'un clerc. La culture de Jacques sera encyclopédique, pour autant qu'on puisse en juger par tout ce qu'il a mis dans son *Speculum Musicae.*

Pourquoi seulement les deux premiers livres du *De Institutione Musica?* Ou bien parce que l'étude de ce traité était répartie sur plusieurs années d'enseignement et, dans ce cas, Jacques n'aurait suivi les cours que l'année ou les années pendant lesquelles ces deux livres avaient été commentés; ou bien, parce que l'enseignement se bornait généralement à l'étude de ces deux seuls premiers livres qui sont les seuls de tout l'ouvrage, surtout le premier, qui, par la matière traitée, s'intégraient harmonieusement dans l'ensemble des cours donnés aux étudiants en Sorbonne.

Le séjour de Iacobus à Paris dut être de longue durée, car, ainsi que nous l'avons montré, les cinq premiers livres du *Speculum Musicae,* c'est-à-dire toute la partie de cette oeuvre monumentale qui a trait à l'aspect théorique de la musique, n'auraient pu être écrits sans la fréquentation constante des traités dont nous avons donné la liste plus haut [220] et qui figuraient tous dans les bibliothèques parisiennes et particulièrement dans celle de la Sorbonne. Or, Jacques n'aurait vraisemblablement jamais pensé à consulter certains d'entre eux, et notamment le traité d'arithmétique de Iordanus, si on ne lui avait prêté préalablement un manuscrit complet du *De Institutione Musica* de Boèce où enfin il allait découvrir les erreurs qu'il avait commises depuis longtemps dans son interprétation de certaines consonances [221]. Puisque ce prêt lui fut fait entre l'époque où il avait entendu les deux premiers livres en Sorbonne et celle où il se remit à étudier la science musicale en repartant de la base, c'est-à-dire des proportions numérales des consonances, proportions numérales qui l'amenèrent à con-

[220] pp. 2-3.
[221] Voir *Musica Disciplina,* VII, pp. 99-100.

sulter notamment le traité de Jordan, ce doit donc être à Paris et non ailleurs qu'eut lieu ce prêt.

Si, maintenant, l'on tient compte de l'importance du vaste travail de compilation que l'auteur du *Speculum* s'était imposé avant d'aborder la rédaction de son traité, si l'on réfléchit aussi à ce que comptent en longues méditations préalables les réflexions, riches de substance, dont il a parsemé les 521 chapitres de son oeuvre monumentale, on n'hésite pas à le croire lorsque, dans le premier chapitre, il nous déclare qu'il est vieux au moment où il commence cette rédaction, et lorsque, çà et là, au cours de son traité, il manifeste une certaine lassitude et la crainte de mourir avant d'avoir achevé sa tâche.

Vu les sources qu'il y a utilisées, nous sommes donc enclins à situer à Paris ou aux environs la rédaction des cinq premiers livres du *Speculum Musicae*.

Par contre, nous pensons que les deux derniers livres, ceux dissertant de la *musica practica,* peuvent avoir été esquissés à Paris mais qu'ils doivent avoir été largement complétés à Liége avant d'y être rédigés. Après nos démonstrations, nous pouvons croire maintenant que c'est à Liége, qu'il trouva dans deux manuscrits, l'un appartenant à l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques, l'autre à l'abbaye de Saint-Laurent, les *Quaestiones in Musica* dont il s'inspirera abondamment dans son sixième livre. C'est dans le même livre qu'il parle avec le plus de précision des églises liégeoises (les seules citées nommément) et de leurs pratiques musicales [222]. C'est encore dans cette même partie de son ouvrage qu'il reprend des exemples notés et des extraits de ce *Tractatus Intonationis Tonorum* qui aurait été écrit par lui dans sa jeunesse à Liége. C'est vraisemblablement aussi dans ce milieu qu'il aura alors connu ou relu le *De Musica cum Tonario* de Jean d'Afflighem (*alias* Cotto) dont on connaît une dizaine de manuscrits mais dont aucun n'appartient à l'orbe parisienne. Par ailleurs, c'est dans son septième livre que Jacques [223] reprend fragmentairement deux motets de Pierre de la Croix dont la graphie du texte correspond à celle d'un manuscrit appartenant alors à l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques à Liége. Enfin, c'est dans ce dernier livre que notre théoricien va réaliser pleinement cette intention qui le poursuivait depuis sa jeunesse, c'est-à-dire démontrer les erreurs des *musici moderni* et prôner l'excellence de l'art des anciens. En ce moment, il doit avoir quitté Paris depuis quelques années déjà car les souvenirs de ce qu'il y a entendu s'estompent; c'est ainsi que, lorsqu'aux deux seuls endroits des livres VI et VII il parle de ce qu'il aurait entendu

[222] Voir Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* II, pp. 249a,249b, 324b et 328a.
[223] Voir notre étude, p. 5.

à Paris, il ne dit pas: „j'ai entendu", mais: „je pense" ou „il me semble avoir entendu à Paris" [224].

Que Jacques, dans sa vieillesse, ait pris la décision de revenir à Liége pour y terminer sa vaste encyclopédie, cela n'a rien d'étonnant. Il est dans la nature humaine d'aimer à finir ses jours dans le coin de terre où l'on est né.

* * *

D'autres questions, soit sur certains aspects de son activité, soit sur la destinée de son oeuvre, restent encore à élucider. Ici, nous avancerons sur un terrain plus mouvant et nous nous bornerons à n'émettre que de pures hypothèses.

Jacques, certainement homme d'église, était-il séculier ou régulier? Nous penchons volontiers pour la seconde hypothèse parce que la quiétude et les loisirs qu'offre un monastère, contrairement à la vie séculière, paraissent mieux convenir à la méditation et à la rédaction d'un ouvrage de l'envergure du *Speculum Musicae;* ensuite, parce que, sur les quatre fois que Iacobus mentionne en les critiquant les pratiques des églises liégeoises, c'est chaque fois à des églises „séculières" qu'il s'en prend.

Jacques serait-il ce „Iacobus de Oudenarde, canonicus maioris ecclesiae Leodiensis" qui aurait professé à l'Université de Paris, ainsi que l'a suggéré d'une façon ingénieuse et séduisante Jos. Smits van Waesberghe [225]? Nous hésitons à suivre sur ce point ce docte musicologue, d'abord parce que nous devrions abandonner l'hypothèse du „Iacobus Monachus" que nous venons d'émettre, ensuite parce que son *Speculum Musicae,* vu son ampleur, ne nous apparaît pas comme un livre d'enseignement, même universitaire, mais bien comme une vaste encyclopédie, ainsi qu'on l'a si souvent dénommé. D'autre part, on ne comprendrait pas qu'un savant d'une valeur aussi exceptionnelle, si modeste fût-il, n'ait laissé aucune trace, ni dans les écrits de ses élèves, ni dans les chroniques ou documents du temps.

Autre question. Comment cette encyclopédie, terminée à Liége, ne se rencontre-t-elle que dans trois manuscrits d'origine italienne et appartenant au siècle suivant? Nous pouvons supposer que l'ouvrage, une fois terminé, a été dédié à un haut personnage de l'Eglise, peut-être même au pape d'Avignon, et qu'il lui a été envoyé avec une épître dédicatoire (le *Speculum Musicae,* en effet, contrairement à l'usage, ne contient pas de dédicace préliminaire). A la fin du schisme d'Occident, ou peut-être avant, ce seul exemplaire, autographe, serait passé en Italie où, avant de se perdre, il aurait été recopié [226]. Des contacts de Jacques avec le sud de la France

[224] Voir notre étude, p. 1

[225] Voir *Musica Disciplina,* VII, pp. 95-96.

[226] Cette hypothèse nous a été amicalement suggérée par notre confrère Smits

doivent avoir existés si l'on en juge par le hoquet *A l'entrade d'avrillo* qu'il reproduit [227].

Dernière question. Pourquoi les théoriciens contemporains de Iacobus ou postérieurs à lui n'ont-ils jamais cité le *Speculum Musicae,* ni son auteur?

Nous avons déjà dit comment, à propos de Boèce, Iacobus se plaignait du discrédit dans lequel était tombée la *musica theorica* ou *speculativa.* Au milieu du bouillonnement de l'*ars nova* dont les théoriciens, suivant en cela l'exemple venu de loin de Guy d'Arezzo, se tournent vers l'immédiat de la *musica practica,* Iacobus dut paraître un homme d'un autre temps. Il l'était déjà par son âge. Il ne dut pas avoir de disciples. Quant à son oeuvre, avouons-le, il faut avoir du temps pour la lire, tant elle est copieuse. Encore, si elle rejoignait le mouvement du siècle! Mais non, elle est tournée constamment vers un passé révolu, et la jeunesse aime la vie. Elle n'a pas d'ailleurs ménagé ses railleries au vieillard illuminé par la spéculation boéthienne et l'art franconien. C'est à d'autres traités que cette jeunesse allait s'abreuver. Nulle doute que si Iacobus avait enseigné à l'Université, son traité eût été conçu d'une autre façon et réalisé sur des bases différentes. Il aurait été amené à faire sa part au modernisme, tout comme les philosophes qui enseignaient en Sorbonne. En somme, il est venu trop tard, ou trop tôt, car, un siècle après, il aurait pu peut-être avoir des disciples aussi férus de Boèce que lui, comme, par exemple, ce Iohannes Gallicus, originaire de Namur, qui, venu en Italie et y ayant reçu l'enseignement de Victorin de Feltre, ne jurait plus que par Boèce et, dans son traité de chant, *Ritus canendi vetustissimus et novus,* reprochait aux chantres, comme l'avait fait Iacobus, de s'être écartés, dans leur stupidité, de la source pure de ce *musicus* (*e puro fonte Boethii*) et, au fameux théoricien Marchettus de Padoue, d'avoir erré lamentablement dans l'interprétation des théories boéthiennes. Il est d'ailleurs très possible que, lorsque le *Speculum Musicae* aura été entièrement publié, on en retrouve des échos dans des ouvrages postérieurs. En somme, nous ne voyons pour l'instant qu'une seule fois où cette encyclopédie a servi pour l'étude ou l'enseignement; c'est dans les fragments qui nous ont été conservés dans le *Mediceus Plut. XXIX 16.* Or les livres dont on a extrait les textes les plus nombreux sont les Livres I et II, qui ont rapport au consonances, et le Livre V qui est consacré au plain-chant. Nul doute que l'auteur de ces emprunts, comme on peut s'en apercevoir par son choix, était lui-même un homme se complaisant dans le souvenir du passé.

van Waesberghe lors d'une des nombreuses conversations que nous avons eues au sujet du *Speculum Musicae.* Elle nous a paru très digne d'attention.

[227] *Speculum Musicae,* L.VII, ch.XXXIII (Coussemaker, *op. cit.,* II, pp. 417-8).

AN ENGLISH DISCANTUUM VOLUMEN

LUTHER A. DITTMER

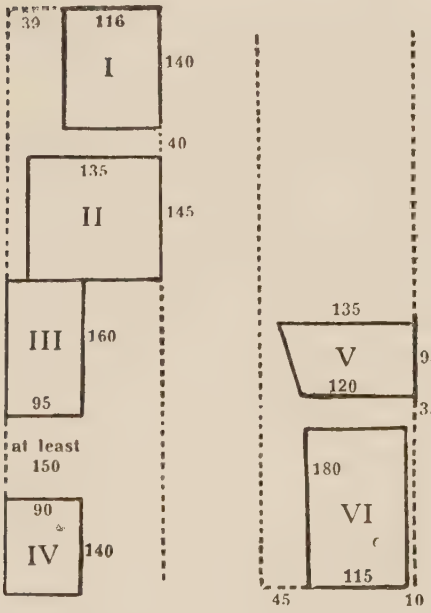
In the *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* III (1928) p. 88 ff and in the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* X (1927-8) p. 517 ff, Jacques Handschin, guided only by supposition and logical thinking, voiced the opinion that the three *Stimmtausch* motets of the Montpellier manuscript, VIII 339-341, which Friedrich Ludwig in the *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* V (1903) p. 219 ff, had already considered a group, were of English origin. Especially Mo VIII 339 was singled out as an example of successive paraphrase in the Tenor. This bold supposition was then proven to be correct by Handschin in *ZfMW* XIV (1931-2) pp. 54-61, after the contents of the Worcester Fragments had become partially available through Dom Anselm Hughes' publication of *„Worcester Mediaeval Harmony"* in 1928. But even previously, Handschin had been able to relate this motet to the Worcester material, by the use of some references given by Hughes in a series of articles, and by the notes given by Ludwig in *„Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils"* in the *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923) and by Heinrich Besseler *ibidem* VII (1925) pp. 220-221. The question of the relationship of English to French music, specifically these motets, was treated by Handschin in *‚Musikgeschichte im Überblick'* 1948 pp. 194-5, in which it was shown that the French taste did not exclude but rather incorporated English motets in its repertoire. This question was then developed in much greater detail by Handschin in *Musica Disciplina* III (1949) and V (1951), where it was shown that a much larger group of motets of probable English origin was included in the Montpellier manuscript. Nevertheless the specific case Mo VIII 339 remained a virtual unicum of its kind since the Worcester fragments had not been conclusively analysed and since sources, containing compositions of the same type, were still unknown.

Before discussing the compositions of this type, contained in the Worcester Fragments, we shall discuss some new material relative to this problem.

Bodleian Rawlinson c 400, which W. H. Frere *‚Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica'* No. 364 had identified as the „Pontifical of De Mortivall, Bishop of Salisbury 1315-1329", contained a group of musical fragments used as fly-leaves. These fly-leaves have now been removed from their bindings, through the kind coöperation of Dr. Hunt, *‚Keeper of Western Manuscripts*

in the Bodleian Library', and are now bound in an appendix volume: Rawl. c 400 *. The front fly-leaves, which I have numbered pp. 1-8, are two double leaves of a codex, the middle of a gathering. The present size (190 x 155) cannot have been much smaller than the original size (ca. 240 x 180). These fragments contain only texts, but space was left for the music, which was to have melismatic and syllabic parts. Although the hand cannot be identical with those of the other fragments, used as the rear fly-leaves, it is identical in time and style; especially the capital ‚*A*'s are similar. The compositions contained in the front fly-leaves are of the exact same kind as the compositions in the rear fly-leaves.

The rear fly-leaves, six in number, of which the first four belong together and the last two, have been numbered 1a-6a and 1b-6b. These fragments came originally from two rotulae, arranged as in the diagram, part of which can be reconstructed. Rotula 1, side a, contains the remains of four Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen: Rotula 1, side b, contains the remains of two Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen; Rotula 2, side a, contains a Choralbearbeitung of the Respond: ‚*Descendit* Vs *Tamquam*'; Rotula 2, side b, contains a ‚*Vita Sanctae Margarethae*'. All compositions are written in ‚*English Mensural notation*' in which the ligatures are not yet mensural. Each side of the Rotulae is the work of a different but very similar hand. The contents are:



Rotula 1
Side a

Rotula 2
Side a

A.	(1)	*Alleluia* Christo iubilemus	(Fr. 1a 1-2)
	(2)	Alleluia	(Fr. 1a 2)
	(3)	Dies iste solis est iustitiae	(Fr. 1a 3)
	(4)	Vs Dies sanctificatus	(Fr. 1a 4-6)
	(5)	*Alleluia Christus nobis*	(Fr. 1a 6 & x)
	(5 alt.)	Alleluia	(Fr. 3a 5)
	(1)	*Alleluia Christo iubilemus*	(Fr. 2a 1-2)
	(2)	Alleluia	(Fr. 2a 2)
	(3)	Dies *iste so*lis est iustitiae	(Fr. 2a 2-3)

(4)	Vs Dies es hic novae	(Fr. 2a 3-6)
(5)	Alleluia Christus nobis	(Fr. 2a 7-8)
(5 alt.)	Alleluia	(Fr. 3a 6)
(1)	Alleluia Christo iu*bilemus*	(Fr. 2a 8, Fr. 2a 9 = Fr. 3a 1)
(2)	Alleluia	(Fr. 2a 9 = Fr. 3a 1)
(3)	Di	(Fr. 2a 9 = Fr. 3a 1)
(4)	Vs Dies sanctificatus	(Fr. 2a 9 = Fr. 3a 1 & 2-4)
(4 a)	(Chorus) Super terram	(Fr. 3a 4)
(5)	Alleluia	(Fr. 3a 5-7)
(5 alt.)	Alleluia	(Fr. 3a 8)

Choralbearbeitung to the Alleluia Vs *Dies sanctificatus* (M 2) à 3 = Lo Ha 2,1. Stimmtausch III 1-10 = II 21-30 = I 11-20; III 11-20 = II 1-10 = I 21-30; and III 21-30 = II 11-20 = I 1-10; III 183-189 = II 177-182 and III 177-182 = II 183-189 over Pes I 177-182 = I 183-189; III 190-198 = II 199-207 and III 199-207 = II 190-198 over Pes I 190-198 = I 199-207.

B.	(1)	Alleluia clare decet	(Fr. 3a 8-9)
	(2)	Alleluia	(Fr. 3a 9)
	(3)	P.....	(Fr. 3a 9 & x)
	(4)	Vs P	(x)
	(1)	_____	(x)
	(2)	_____	(x)
	(3)	_____	(x)
	(4)	_____	(x)
	(1)	_____	(x)
	(2)	_____ (cf. infra)	(x)
	(3)	_____	(x)
	(4)	_____	(x)

Choralbearbeitung à 3 to an Alleluia, having the melody now used for the *Alleluias* Vs *Dies sanctificatus* (Ed. Vat. 34); Vs *Ego dominus* (Ed. Vat. 105 **); Vs *Gustate* (Ed. Vat. 616); Vs *Hic est discipulus* (Ed. Vat. 39); Vs *Hic est sacerdos* (Ed. Vat. [8]); Vs *Inveni David* (Ed. Vat. 514); Vs *Justus non conturbabitur* (Ed. Vat. 573); Vs *Magnus sanctus Paulus* (Ed. Vat. 419); Vs *Potens in terra* (Ed. Vat. 585); Vs *Redemptionem* (Ed. Vat. 266); Vs *Sancti tui* (Ed. Vat. 415); Vs *Tu es Petrus* (Ed. Vat. 409); Vs *Tu puer* (Ed. Vat. 524); Vs *Video coelos* (Ed. Vat. 37); and Vs *Vidimus stellam* (Ed. Vat. 58). The first letter of the verse is probably a ‚*P*' and the composition may be identical with the otherwise unknown Marian *Alleluia* Vs *Porta Syon* = Lo Ha 2,33. In any event

this melody is used for the second section of four Alleluias contained in Rotula 1, side a.

C.	(1)	*Adoremus ergo natum*	(x)
	(2)	*Alleluia*	(x)
	(3)	*Vi*	(x)
	(4)	Vs *Vidimus stellam*	(x)
	(1)	*Adoremus ergo natum*	(x)
	(2)	*Alleluia*	(x)
	(3)	*Vi*	(x)
	(4)	Vs *Vidimus* . . . . eius qui	(x & Fr. 4a 1-3)
	(1)	Adoremus ergo natum	(Fr. 4a 4)
	(2)	*Alle*luia	(Fr. 4a 4-5)
	(3)	Vi	(Fr. 4a 5)
	(4)	Vs Vidimus stellam	(Fr. 4a 5-6)

Choralbearbeitung à 3 to the *Alleluia* Vs *Vidimus stellam* (M 10) = Lo Ha 2,7. Stimmtausch: III 7-13 = II 13-19 = I 1-7; III 13-19 = II 1-7 = I 7-13; III 1-7 = II 7-13 = I 13-19.

D.	(1)	Ave sanctitati	(Fr. 4a 8-9)
	(2)	Alle*luia*	(Fr. 4a 9)
	(3)	_____	(x)
	(4)	_____	(x)
	(1)	*Ave sanctitati*	(x)
	(2)	*Alleluia*	(x)
	(3)	_____	(x)
	(4)	_____	(x)
	(1)	*Ave sanctitati*	(x)
	(2)	*Alleluia*	(x)
	(3)	_____	(x)
	(4)	_____	(x)

Choralbearbeitung à 3 to an unknown but undoubtedly Marian Alleluia. Stimmtausch: III 1-3 = II 4-6 = I 7-9; III 4-6 = II 7-9 = I 10-12; and III 7-9 = II 1-3 = I 4-6.

E.	(1)	Ave Maria plena gratia	(Fr. 1b 1-2)
	(2)	Alleluia	(Fr. 1b 2)
	(3)	Alma coeli	(Fr. 1b 2-4)
	(4)	Vs Assump*ta est*	(Fr. 1b 4, x and Fr. 2b 1-2)

(1)	Ave Maria plena gratia	(Fr. 2b 3-4)
(2)	Alle iubiletur cum luya	(Fr. 2b 4-6)
(3)	Alitricis alitrix	(Fr. 2b 6 and Fr. 3b 1)
(4)	Vs . . . . . aeterumque	(Fr. 3b 2-6 and x)
(1)	*Ave Maria plena gratia*	(x)
(2)	*Alleluia*	(x)
(3)	*As*	(x)
(4)	Vs *Assumpta est*	(x)

Choralbearbeitung à 3 to the *Alleluia* Vs *Assumpta* est (M 33). Not in Lo Ha unless = Lo Ha 2, 30: *Alleluia* Vs *Ave Maria,* in which case the text of the beginning and not that of the verse would have been incorrectly given. Yet the melody of *Alleluia* Vs *Ave Maria* (Ed. Vat. [77]) would better fit the Alleluia section (2) than would Vs *Assumpta est* (Ed. Vat. 584). Incidently the text of the full verse is used, as given in the Offertory *Assumpta est* (Ed. Vat. 584), not as at present in the Alleluia. Stimmtausch: III 2-7 = II 8-13 = I 14-19; III 8-13 = II 14-19 = I 2-7; and III 14-19 = II 2-17 = I 8-13; III 53-58 = II 65-70 = I 59-64; III 59-64 = II 53-58 = I 65-70; and III 65-70 = II 59-64 = I 53-58; III 73-82 = II 93-102 = I 83-92; III 83-92 = II 73-82 = I 93-102; and III 93-102 = II 83-92 = I 73-82.

F. The remains of another Choralbearbeitung, presumably à 3, and certainly to the *Alleluia* Vs *Post partum* (Ed. Vat. [77]) (M 35). The text of an upper voice, with motets tropic to the liturgical text can be read: (Fr. 4b 1) . . . . . *libata coeli ianitrix; Intercede apud* (the continuation may be *Jesum Christum* which is similar to the ending appended to Vs *Post partum* in Worc. No. 19); (Fr. 4b 2) . . . . . *-dator indulgentiae et permansine gloriae.* (Since a section evidently comes to an end here, these texts may have been tropic to the Alleluia or to the melisma of the first syllable of the verse.); (Fr. 4b 3) . . . . . *-tum privilegiatum consecratum ac beatum.* (The beginning was probably: (*Post par*)*tum,* tropic to the beginning of the verse.); (Fr. 4b 4) . . . . . *virgo* (tropic to *Virgo*), *Integra inviolata die preëlecta;* (Fr. 4b 5) . . . . . *hinc perfecta tali gratia* (tropic to Inviolata), *Permansisti sigil-;* (Fr. 4b 6) . . . . . (text) . . . . . (tropic to *Permansisti)* . . . . . (text) . . . . . (probably tropic to *Dei genitrix).* This version of the *Alleluia* Vs *Post partum* is different from Worc. No. 19.

G.	(1)	Descendit de coelis	(Fr. 5a 6)
	(2)	Vs T*amquam sponsus*	(Fr. 5a 7, x and Fr. 6a 1-4)
	(3)	Gloria laus et honor	(Fr. 6a 4-8)

(1)	*Descendit de coelis*	(x)
(2)	Vs *Tamquam sponsus*	(x and Fr. 5a 2)
(3)	Gloria patri et filio	(Fr. 5a 2, 4 & 6)

(1)	*Descendit de coelis*	(x)
(2)	Vs *Tam*quam sponsus	(x and Fr. 5a 1 & 3)
(3)	Gloria patri et filio	(Fr. 5a 3, 5 & 7)

Choralbearbeitung à 3 to the Respond *Descendit* Vs *Tamquam* (0 2). The lowest voice of the Gloria, containing the liturgical melody, is repeated for the verse, whereby the verse can be reconstructed.

The two double leaves (pp. 1-8) contain, furthermore, six Choralbearbeitungen of Alleluia compositions; the music has not been notated in the original, but the texts indicate how these compositions were to have been performed:

(In the following ----- represents a melismatic passage and ..... a passage of text missing in the manuscript.)

H. Choralbearbeitung à 3 to the *Alleluia* Vs *Post partum* = *Worc.* No. 19.

(1) Ave magnifica Maria---------- Ave salvifica deigera
(1) A----------ve mirifica Maria----------
(1) Al----------

Maria----------Ave gratifica mundoque salutifera
----Ave mundifica puerpera Maria----------

Maria---------- Ave Maria.
----Ave glorifica luce corusca supera Maria Ave Maria.
----

(2) Allelu-----ya (3) Post et in puerperio novo dicata Maria
(2) Allelu-----ya (3) Post et ante et in puer-perio
(2) Allelu-----ya (3) Post----------

pri-vi-legio labe carens et contagio. (4) Vs Post par---tum virgo
pura Maria labe carens et contagio. (4) Vs Post par---tum virgo
---------- (4) Vs ---- par---tum virgo

integra inviola - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ta permansis - - - - - ti - - - - - - - - - - -
in - - - - - - - - tegra inviola - - - - - - ta permansis - - - - - ti . . . . . .
inviola - ta permansis - - - - - ti genitrix - - - - -

- Dei cuncta nutrientis nutrix
- ons geniti generosa gloriosa virgo genitrix -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

re-gali semi . . . . . qui de germine venit teste pagina legis Mosyase
semine - - -

divo lumine pro homine glorioso precioso virtuoso fuso sanguine De - - - - us.
- - - - -

M. Choralbearbeitung à 3 to the *Alleluia* Vs *Hic Franciscus* = Vs *Hic* Martinus (etc.) (M 44).

(1) Alleluia musica canamus yperlirica -
(1) Al - leluya musica canamus yper-
(1) Al - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

In addition to these 12 Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen, there are a further 11 Choralbearbeitungen of Alleluias, more or less complete, of the same type among the Worcester fragments: Worc. No. 19 Vs *Post partum* (M 35); Worc. No. 45 Vs *Gaude virgo*; Worc. No. 46 Vs? (possibly *‚Virga Iesse'* or *‚Dulce lignum'*); Worc. No. 49 Vs *Laetabitur justus* (M 49); Worc. No. 50 Vs *Judicabunt*; Worc. No. 51 Vs *Fulgebunt justi*; Worc. No. 52 Vs *Justus epulentur*; Worc. No. 54 Vs *O laus sanctorum*; Worc. No. 55 Vs *Veni mater gratiae* = *Veni sancte spiritus* (M 27); Worc. No. 56 Vs *Dulce lignum* (M 22); and Worc. No. 57 Vs *Regis coelorum.*

The 12 Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen from the fragments in Rawl. c 400*, the 11 Alleluias, which we have listed from the Worcester fragments, and, as we shall see, the Alleluias of the 2nd fascicle of the lost Reading manuscript, the table of whose incipits Ludwig printed in his *‚Repertorium'* with the abbreviation *Lo Ha,* consist of different sections, which have alternatingly a liturgical melody and its text in the lowest voice, and a freely composed Pes, which is mostly textless, but which often has a tropic, or otherwise freely composed text. In general, those sections which have a liturgical melody in the lowest voice, have either the same liturgical text in the upper voice, or voices, in which case we consider them allied to *‚Choralbearbeitungen',* or they have a motet text in either or both upper voices, which is tropic to the liturgical text, in which case we consider them allied to *‚Motets'*, more properly *‚Tropic-Motets'*, which have not, as yet, lost their liturgical significance.

> Previously, the only known case of a motet embedded in a Choralbearbeitung was Worc. No. 81; but although the technique of adding a tropic motet to a Choralbearbeitung is similar in that case, we are faced with an entirely different style criterium: Worc. No. 81, like the Notre Dame Choralbearbeitungen, consists of the alternation of long held (organal) tones, over which long melismas were spun, for the more syllabic parts of the Gregorian melody, and, on the other hand, of rhythmic successions of Longae and double Longae for the more melismatic parts of the Gregorian melody. Our type of Choralbearbeitung, opposed to these, has only these latter sections, the more pregnant *discantus* parts. Since this type of Choralbearbeitung apparently appears only in sources later than those of the Notre-Dame type, we feel justified in calling them the *newer* or *English* class of Choralbearbeitungen.

In general, the sections, which do not have a liturgical melody in the lowest voice, are based on the principle of *Stimmtausch.* Stimmtausch is the interchange of melodic material between or among the participating voices, so that the effect is that of musical repetition. Usually both voices with text, which consequently become musically more important, and voices without text, which assume a lesser rôle, are present and both participate

reciprocally in the exchange. Often, however, the exchanging voices both have texts, or neither may have a text, or even the exchanged melodies may have different texts in the repetition. Usually one voice, mostly but not exclusively the lowest voice, repeats itself for both statements. Should, however, the exchange of melodic material among all three voices be complete, then the principle of Stimmtausch yields the form of the *Rondellus*. We shall, however, consider only the independent compositions, which conform to this principle, as *‚Rondelli'*.

It may be noted, however, that the Rondellus has its origin not only in the Stimmtausch-motets of the Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen, but also in the Conductus. Walter Odington in Coussemaker's *Scriptores* I 245 indicates that if a polyphonic song does not have the individual voices recite the same melody in order then this is no longer called a Rondellus but becomes a Conductus. In this regard cf. Worc. No. 5.

As is known, the Alleluia belongs to the responsorial chants of the liturgy, and consists of the alternation of solo and choral parts, in which the opening of the Alleluia is sung by soloists, the cauda by the choir; in the verse, the greater part is sung by soloists, the choir merely ending the verse. Thereafter the Alleluia is repeated. In general, in these Choralbearbeitungen, only the solo parts are set polyphonically, the choral sections being understood as completing these with the liturgical melody.

It has, thus, always been assumed that the Choralbearbeitungen formed a *Solo-art*. Substantiating this claim, we have the fact that in many cases, the choral part is included, and there set homophonically; furthermore in No. A, at the close of the verse and before the *‚Alleluia in Fine'*, there appears in the Pes the choral close with the rubric *‚Chorus'*; accordingly the remainder must be adjudged solo art.

Varying with the liturgical parts are the sections with freely composed Pes, so that in its most complete form the Alleluia Choralbearbeitung consists of: SoFr. SoLit. ChrLit., SoFr. SoLit. ChrLit., SoFr. SoLit. and ChrLit. (where SoFr. = Solo section with freely composed Pes; SoLit. = Solo section with liturgical Pes; and ChrLit. = Choral section with liturgical Pes.) For the purpose of classification we have numbered the solo parts according to the alternation of parts with and without liturgical Pes.

It may be noted that in most cases it is undoubtedly assumed that the repetition of the Alleluia, that is of the Stimmtausch-Motet probably including the liturgical Alleluia and the Choral close, is the same as for the original section. Only in the case of No. A is a distinct and different part composed *‚In fine'*. There is, furthermore, in addition to a Stimmtausch-Motet, a short composition in score, which is to be sung *‚if brevity is desired'*, and which consists of a short melisma and a setting for three voices of the liturgical Alleluia. It may have been planned, however, that the complete repetition should consist of both the Stimmtausch-Motet and the liturgical Alleluia, whereas the shortened

version omits the Stimmtausch-Motet. Perhaps in other cases also, the Stimmtausch-Motet was omitted *‚In fine'*, or its inclusion was optional.

The first part, numbered (1), of this category of compositions is a *‚Stimmtausch-Motet'* with texts mostly tropic to the syllable *‚Al'* from *‚Alleluia'* in the Pes. Mostly the texts of the upper voice begin with *‚Ave'*, *‚Alma'*, *‚Adoremus'* or *‚Alleluia'*; *‚Alleluia'* is either given at the beginning or is divided *‚Alle' ‚Luya'*, the last part ending the phrase as in Mo VIII 339 and in *‚Alle iubiletur cum luya'* in No. E. Often only one text phrase is submitted to Stimmtausch, as in No. E, the text often overlapping into the restatement, so that the canonic form is approached.

> Naturally there will still be the difference that a canon is a progressive form, a Stimmtausch-motet not, but with the effect of longer phrases, the effect of a new entry, before the previous exposition has reached its melodic cadence, suggests itself to the ear as a canon, and in fact if the melodic material continued to be new, instead of repeating old material, we should, in fact, have a canon.

Often, on the other hand, different text phrases are applied, mostly complementary, and often with melodic development and variation, as Handschin noted in regard to Mo VIII 339 in *‚Musikgeschichte im Überblick'* pp. 194-5, and the same is apparently true of No. D.

> It is furthermore to be noted that the same Stimmtausch composition is not exclusively bound to one Alleluia, but can be prefixed to similar Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen; important seems only the fact that the texts be appropriate and relate to the text of the verse. Thus the melody of No. B is the same as that of No. E, although a different text is used. Of much more importance is the case of the Stimmtausch-Motet *‚Ave magnifica Maria'*. Because of the faulty second foliation of Bod. Lat. Lit. d 20, the relationship of the second version of this Stimmtausch-Motet, namely Worc. No. 56, to the *Alleluia* Vs *Dulce lignum,* could not have been seen. Handschin *Mus. Dis.* V p. 67 pointed out that this version stands apart in that it is written in the *‚g'* mode, and where it consequently introduces the 8th mode *Alleluia* Vs *Dulce lignum,* whereas the same composition in *‚d'* mode introduces Worc. No. 19, the 4th mode *Alleluia* Vs *Post partum,* the only other difference between the two versions being in the cadence. Handschin had, in his review of Hughes' publication in *ZfMW* XIV pp. 54-61, made the plausible explanation that the melody of the Pes is a paraphrase of the liturgical melody of the *Alleluia* Vs *Post Partum.* Indeed the melody of the Pes does bear a certain relationship to this liturgical melody, but the version in the ‚g' mode likewise bears some relationship to the *Alleluia ℣ Dulce lignum* (Worc. No. 56 measures 13-20). Yet we find this same Pes melody also in two other Stimmtausch-motets, namely Nos. A and E; in fact this type of melody is found throughout these compositions. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that this melody was originally inspired from Vs *Post partum.* Of all the Stimmtausch-motets that we have, this one appears to have been the most successful, since we have

three versions, one of which is in the French source of the Montpellier manuscript, and possibly two other versions were intended. Vs *Dulce lignum,* which is known to have existed in at least two copies, may also have helped inspire the melody. Nevertheless, this melody appears to have been a model, freely composed. Stimmtausch-motets proved then to be quite popular and were otherwise used as independent motets, not in the framework of a Choralbearbeitung; many of these appear among the Worcester fragments. Nevertheless, we shall consider only those motets, which are contained in the framework of an Alleluia Choralbearbeitung as Stimmtausch-motets; the others are called Motets with Stimmtausch.

The second part, numbered (2), is a polyphonic setting of the liturgical Alleluia, whereby, in most cases, only the solo part is used (i.e. the first of the three Alleluias). In general, the upper voices have only *‚Alleluia'* as text. That this second section, with its liturgical melody, does not properly belong to the first section, with its freely composed Pes, is shown also by the fact that the syllable *‚Al'* from *‚Alleluia'* is repeated where the liturgical melody begins, a phenomenon which is true of all motets and Conductus compositions which begin with a melisma. (e.g. Worc. No. 20)

An exception to the general rule that the upper voices have only the text *‚Alleluia'* for this section is found in No. E, where two voices sing *‚Alleluia'*, and a third voice has a tropic motet thereto: *‚Alle iubiletur cum luya'*. This same phenomenon may also have taken place in the missing voice of *Alleluia* Vs *Regis coelorum,* Worc. No. 57, which had only a rudimentary Stimmtausch-motet.

The third part, number (3), is a short section to a freely-composed Pes, and serves as a type of polyphonic intonation to the verse. The origin of this melody is uncertain; often the melody of the Pes appears to duplicate the final melisma of the liturgical Alleluia. (e.g. Worc. No. 52) Often it appears to be related to the Stimmtausch-Motet at the beginning of the Choralbearbeitung, but that is not necessary. The upper voices are likewise often without text, but are also provided with texts. These texts can be the same in the two upper voices, as in No. A, or can be different, as in Worc. No. 19. Texts, when present, are tropic to the first syllable of the verse, which syllable provides the text for the Pes.

It may even be possible that one upper voice may have a tropic motet, whereas the other voice combines with the text syllable of the Pes, as in section (2) of No. E. There are no examples of this for section (3), but this phenomenon may be true for Worc. Nos. 50, 54, 55, 56 or 57, one voice of which is missing.

In the case of Worc. No. 19 Vs *Post partum,* which example contains one of the most highly developed examples of this third section, the texts of the upper voices complement each other, are reciprocally tropic, have the same assonance, and are sung to the syllable *‚Post'*, which is then repeated for the verse. In another example, No. E, we have the

principle of Stimmtausch applied so that we have an actual Rondellus with two different sections. Usually, however, this section remains quite rudimentary.

The fourth part, numbered (4), is a polyphonic setting of the liturgical verse of the Alleluia, whereby the choral close is not, in most cases set polyphonically.

The ending of Worc. No. 52, the Pes of which is missing, has undoubtedly *‚in laetitia'* as the end of the text of the upper voices: this would be part of the choral ending of the verse, according to Ed. Vat. [27]. Nevertheless, we can assume that this too was sung by soloists. The choral close is added to the Pes only in at least Nos. A, H, I, M and Worc. 45 and 49.

The texts of the upper voices are partially the same as that of the liturgical melody, (i.e. they likewise have melismas to the same syllables at the liturgical Pes), or they contain *‚Tropic-Motets'*, tropic to the liturgical text of the melodic section. In general these tropic texts are set in verse form, or at least have rhymes or assonances. They either repeat the liturgical text at the beginning, in which case the rhyme or assonance conforms at the end, or the assonance is at the beginning and the liturgical text appears at the end. Occasionally the Pes of an entire melodic section is repeated, as in the case of Worc. No. 55, where there are two completely different settings of the text *‚Et tuum amorem optatem'* to which the missing voice undoubtedly supplied a tropic motet. We have then a polyphonic setting of the verse with intercalated tropic-motets in the upper voices and the liturgical melody in the Pes.

There are other cases of the repetition of a section of the liturgical melody and text among the Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen. In Worc. No. 45 the liturgical text and melody *‚Et gaude ..... fac gaudere' is* repeated, each time with different motets and melodies in each of the upper voices; the one voice has a text which is tropic to the liturgical text, the other has a series of phrases beginning with *‚Gaude'*, which recalls the text *‚Gaudo virgo salutata'*, which likewise has a series of phrases all beginning with *‚Gaude'*. This text is contained in a detached motet voice in Oxford (Bod.) Corpus Christi College 497 f. 7v (new foliation) and in a separate composition in Univ. Chicago appendix to Ms. 654.

Worc. No. 56 also has a section in which the liturgical Pes is repeated, but the most interesting case is in the *Alleluia* Vs *Regis coelorum,* Worc. No. 57, where the Pes is stated four times, with a motet voice, beginning *‚O regina gloriae'*. The Pes is interesting, first of all, because it is in first mode, not in the more usual fifth mode, (usual in the Pes of the Choralbearbeitungen of the Worcester and Rawlinson fragments). This same text is also contained in a motet, not presented as part of a Choralbearbeitung, notably Worc. No. 36, where the Pes is apparently stated once in fifth mode, thereafter in first mode. As shown

in the discussion of these motets, these two versions are not identical, and the missing motetus of Worc. No. 36 is not supplied from No. 57, as A. Hughes proposes both in his catalogue and in *‚Worcester Mediaeval Harmony'* under the item in question; the Pes, however, is identical in both cases. Here we have an instance of a motet text, which was originally a tropic motet in a Choralbearbeitung, being used for an independent motet. (We must, of course, assume that the version in the Choralbearbeitung is the older, since there the motet is tropic and the Pes is an organic part of the mechanism of the Choralbearbeitung.) This would show that the contents of Worcester Vol. 1 was dependent upon the contents of Worcester Vol. 2. Perhaps, therefore, we are justified in seeking the sources for the text and the melodies of the Pes of such motets in Worcester Vol. 1 in just such Choralbearbeitungen. These motets, whose texts are tropic to a liturgical text are considered to be ‚Tropic-Motets'.

The principle of troping a liturgical text is not restricted to the Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen, but the Worcester fragments also contain a large class of Sanctus Choralbearbeitungen in Worc. Vol. 2, where it is usual for only one voice to have a tropic motet. In addition to these tropes, there is a tropic-motet, (Worc. No. 4), probably to the Offertory *‚Felix namque es'*, two introit tropes (Worc. Nos. 9 and 64) to *‚Salve sancta parens'*, a gradual trope to *‚Benedicta'* (Worc. No. 26), and a Tract trope to *‚Gaude Maria virgo'* (Worc. No. 35), all for Marian festivals.

A special word must be granted to the tropic-motets to the Kyrie melodies of Worcester Vol. 1. The usual Kyrie-tropes, as we know them both from Troparia and the 11th fascicle of Wolfenbüttel 677, repeat themselves thrice threetimes, ending each time with *‚Eleison'*, a nine part form. The tropic motets to the Kyries in Worcester Vol. 1 have *‚eleison'* only at the end of every third group, a three-part form. This, of course, necessitated a revision of the text, and the standard version of the trope was unsuitable; these standard tropes, however, could easily be altered so that they would fit. Comparing the text of the second voice of Worc. No. 2 with the first Kyrie and Christe sections of the corresponding peculiarly English trope, (*Analecta Hymnica* XLVII 208 lists only English sources for this trope), we can see the textual rearrangement of the Worcester version.

AH XLVII 208	WORCESTER No. 2
Lux et gloria	Lux et gloria
Regis summi Maria	Regis coelici Maria
Eleison	Mundi domina
	Plena gratia
In cuius vita	Cuius ad obsequia
Gaudent cuncta Maria	Gaudent omnia
Eleison	Te laudantia

Quae nobis potes Subvenire Maria Eleison	Quae nobis post huius mundi stadia Potens subvenire Maria Eleison

* * *

O mundi domina Coelorum regina Nostri Maria Eleison	O mundi praeclara domina Imperatrix coelorum et regina Summi dulcis femina
Per mortem filii A poena perenni Pia Maria Eleison	Per mortis iulia prolis flagitia Sis pia Maria mundo propitia Famulos protegens a poena varia
Tu es mater patris Decus castitatis Virgo Maria Eleison	Quae es mater patris propitia In qua castitas floret Maria Eleison

The fifth and sixth parts, numbered (5) and (6), are usually the same as for the first and second parts (Stimmtausch-motet plus liturgical Alleluia); only in the case of No. A is a different setting included.

The question of the source of the two bi-folios and the two rotulae, contained in Rawlinson c 400*, still remains. Handschin in *Musica Disciplina* III (1949) p. 88 ff, in raising the question of the lost Reading list, Lo Ha, (cf. Ludwig's *Repertorium* 267 ff) went into the problem of the three names appearing in this index. Of chief importance to us is the record of Willelmus de Winchecumbe, the name prefixed to the second group of compositions, those that contain 37 alleluias; Schofield (*The Music Review* 1948) was able to identify this personage with a Reading monk of the second half of the thirteenth century.

> Schofield and Handschin give the name as W. de Wicumbe. This personage is undoubtedly the same as Willelmus de Winchecumbe, (Winchcomb is a town midway between Reading and Worcester) who was made a prebend of St. Andrew's church at Worcester, on the 10th of May 1283, undoubtedly for his musical activity. (*Annales Wigornienses* in the *‚Rerum Brittanicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores', Annales Monastici* Vol. IV.)

What is interesting is that Schofield and Handschin report that this monk stayed four years in Leominster, „a convent dependent of Reading". While there, he is supposed to have composed or transcribed a „troparium et processionale simul", a „Compotum (Computum) optimum cum tractatu de musica", and an „historiam beatae Margarethae cujus dictamen

frater Hugo de Wicb. composuit, notam cantus ipse W(illelmus de Winchecumbe) imposuit" and further „duas rotulas, unam continentem triplices cantus numero . . . . . , aliam continentem duplices cantus numero", and finally a „librum ad missam de Sancta Maria".

The first interesting fact is that Leominster is in the same neighborhood as Worcester; in fact it lies in the Malvern hills, 20 miles from Worcester, and even closer to Wales, the country referred to by Giraldus Cambrensis *‚Descriptio Cambriae'* I 13, as having non-learned polyphonic music at the end of the 12th century. (cf. Handschin *Musica Disciplina* III p. 79) It is interesting to note, as we have seen, that the same type of Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen is contained in the Worcester fragments as well as in Rawlinson c 400*.

The second interesting fact is that one of the Choralbearbeitungen, contained among the fragments in Rawl. c 400* (No. L), contains a Stimmtausch-motet with freely composed text which states explicitly: *‚In ecclesia pro Leonardi gloria'*, a saint honoured in Leominster.

Thirdly, Rotulae containing polyphonic music are otherwise unknown from this period in England. If we examine the two Rotulae, now contained in Rawl. c 400*, we find that the first, containing Fragments 1a-4a or 1b-4b, has compositions for three voices, in which the voices are even numbered, (e.g. Pes & III) since they are mostly written in parts. In the second Rotula, we have the Respond *‚Descendit'* for three voices; the second rotula would thus appear to differ from the description of a Rotula containing compositions for two voices. Yet we see, in this latter case, that two of the three voices are written in score, the third voice being added at the bottom. It is altogether possible that this Rotula was thereby thought to contain polyphonic music for two voices. Thus the two Rotulae would conform to the general description of the two Rotulae ascribed to Willelmus de Winchecumbe.

Finally on the rear of the second Rotula we have a *‚Vita Sanctae Margarethae'*. As we have seen, Willelmus de Winchecumbe is connected with an office for Saint Margaret. Is is probable that the lost part of the roll contained just such an office, and was then completed by the *‚Vita'*.

Now if we consider the list of concordances between these Rotulae and the second group of compositions in the Reading List, those with which Willelmus de Winchecumbe is associated, we see that at least the following are represented: Lo Ha 2,1 = *Alleluia* Vs *Dies sanctificatus*; Lo Ha 2,7 = *Alleluia* Vs *Vidimus stellam*; Lo Ha 2,22 = *Alleluia* Vs *Nativitas gloriosae*; and Lo Ha 2,23 = *Alleluia* Vs *In conspectu*. In addition, if we are to add the compositions contained in the Worcester fragments to these, then we should have, among the Choralbearbeitungen in the same style: Lo Ha 2,12 = *Alleluia* Vs *Dulce lignum*; Lo Ha 2,32 = *Alleluia* Vs *Gaude virgo*;

and Lo Ha 2,42 = *Alleluia* Vs *Judicabunt,* and others which may also be identical.

This evidence seems to show conclusively that this type of Alleluia Choralbearbeitung came from Leominster/Worcester, was represented also in Reading and possibly also in Salisbury, and is associated with Willelmus de Winchecumbe, who was, if not the actual composer himself, at least actively associated with the compositions in question.

If we combine all of the Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen of this type together, then we find an actual *‚Discantuum Volumen'* of English origin, comparable in this respect to the *‚Magnus liber'* associated with Leonin and Perotin, except, of course, that there would be some changes in the liturgical order of the Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen. Listing the compositions known only in the Reading index in parentheses, we would have at least, the following Choralbearbeitungen as part of this *‚Discantuum Volumen':* M 2, (M 4), (M 6), M 10, (M 12), (M 14), (M 15), M 22, (M 23), (M 26), M 27, (M 29), (M 34), M 35, M 38, M 39, M 42, M 43, M 44, (M 45), M 49, (M 53), M 54, (M 57), and (M 67). In addition to these we have 17 other Alleluias, 13 of which are known only in Lo Ha, and which do not fit into F. Ludwig's classification system, or which have not been positively identified; we also have 10 duplicates. Thus we have, at least, a cycle of 42 different Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen of the same type, and we may associate the name of Willelmus de Winchecumbe with this *‚Discantuum Volumen'*.

> It is also said of Willelmus de Winchecumbe that he composed a book containing material for the weekly Marian masses: Handschin *Musica Disciplina* III p. 90 added that this was undoubtedly polyphonic material, and suggested that this might be a cycle of compositions like the 11th fascicle of Wolfenbüttel 677. Without positively denying the possibility that Willelmus de Winchecumbe may have composed in this style, or even that he might have been the composer of the 11th fascicle, I should like to point out that Willelmus de Winchecumbe seemingly composed in a more modern style; the alleluias of his cycle, the last eight of which are Marian Alleluias, and which well may have been included in the Marian cycle, are not set in the primitive style as are the Alleluias in the 11th fascicle of Wl. We have also seen that he often added separate motet-tropes to the upper voices, a technique quite foreign to the 11th fascicle of Wl. Furthermore, we have also seen that compositions which are associated with him are present in the Worcester fragments, even in Worc. Vol. 1. Then we see, furthermore, that a large number of the Worcester Fragments contain Marian motets, and that not too much care is given to the order of the compositions. In some cases we even have tropic-motets to other parts of the liturgy (cf. supra p. 34) and in all of these cases the tropes are to specifically Marian compositions. This suggests, at least, that Worcester Vol. 1 may easily have contained a cycle of compositions intended for the Saturday Marian masses, and these compositions could have played the same rôle

in this collection as do the various items in the 11th fascicle of Wl, the non-tropic motets being the counterpart to the sequences. Nevertheless, the contents of Worc. Vol. 1 is not exclusively dedicated to Marian compositions, but this volume undoubtedly served as a book for soloists, containing the *‚ad-libitum'* polyphonic compositions, rather than being the original or a direct copy of the *‚Liber ad missam de Sancta Maria'*. Nevertheless, concordances between Reading and Worcester would be more successfully explained, if these concordances, which deal almost exclusively with Marian motets, were originally compositions of Willelmus de Winchecumbe and belonged to this cycle. It would, therefore, be best to examine the concordances of the index of the lost Reading collection.

Manfred Bukofzer in *‚Sumer is icumen in, a revision'*, in the University of California Publications in Music, 1944 pp. 94-95, compiled a list of concordances of the compositions in the index of the Reading list. He correctly avoided mention of the continental settings of these compositions, except where they were indentical with compositions contained in English manuscripts. However, he included only references to the Worcester Fragments and to Wl, 11th fascicle. As we have seen, the references to Wl, 11th fascicle are undoubtedly false. In the case of compositions listed without reference, details have been filled in by Handschin in *Musica Disciplina* III pp. 93-94.

The first group of compositions is prefaced by the remark: ‚Ord ī W. de Wint'. Schofield, (*The Music Review*, 1948), was able to identify this personage with 'W. de Wintonia', who is mentioned in Reading documents from 1276 to 1284 (Handschin p. 91). Schofield further interpreted the abbreviation as *‚Ordo libri'*, implying that the entire collection had belonged to W. de Wintonia; this interpretation was doubted by Handschin p. 91, who mentioned that Ludwig's interpretation in the *‚Repertorium'* p. 270 had implied that only the first collection belonged, or more properly was composed by W. de Wintonia. Handschin pointed out that the difficulty of Schofield's interpretation lay in the fact that some of the later groups in Lo Ha, which contain motets, show, from the concordances, that they contain compositions of a much later date, whereas the difficulty of Ludwig's interpretation lay in the fact that the first composition, Lo Ha 1,1 has the name R. de Burgate prefixed to it and this would conflict with W. de Wintonia being the composer of the entire first group. As we shall see, the difficulties involving Ludwig's idea can be resolved, so that only the first group of compositions, excepting the very first item, belonged to W. de Wintonia. I see no reason, therefore, why the abbreviation could not be resolved: *‚Ordo primus W. de Wintonia'*, since thereby each chapter would seemingly have its own title, which title would be lacking for the first group, if this heading were instead to refer to the entire index.

Lo Ha 1,1 is the Gloria trope *‚Spiritus et Almae'*, which Ludwig in

his *‚Repertorium'* had noted is the only case in which this trope is set polyphonically before the end of the 14th century. To this composition is prefixed the name R.B., whom Schofield identified with R. de Burgate, abbot of Reading from 1268-1290, and who was undoubtedly, as Handschin p. 91 mentions, the composer of this Gloria trope. The fact that R. de Burgate was abbot in Reading, may in itself account for the fact that this composition was given the place of honour in this collection, and does not exclude, as we shall see, the fact that the other compositions in the first group were composed by W. de Wintonia. A composition answering this description is preserved in the fly-leaves, formerly bound in Bod. 816 and now in Oxford (Bod.) Mus. c 60. This composition has the following peculiarities: it is for four voices (probably also a reason for its initial position); it has a rather extended hoquetus, this appearing in none of the Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen, and furthermore this composition has an organal section, which is peculiar to only this one of the known concordances. The identity of this composition is substantiated by the fact that the following composition, Lo Ha 1,2 appears on the same leaf in Mus. c 60, preceding this composition, not succeding it as in the Reading List, so that we are sure that the leaves in Mus. c 60 were not originally part of the Reading manuscript.

There is a setting of the *‚Spiritus et almae'* Gloria tropes in Oxford Bod. 384. We must reject this concordance, because the compositions themselves are much later, and because the tropes are included as an appendix to a Gloria, whereas no Gloria is mentioned in the Reading list: moreover the fragments in Mus. c 60 contain a further possible concordance with the first group in Lo Ha. Another composition using the text of the *‚Spiritus et almae'* trope for an upper voice of a motet is contained in the Meaux Abbey fragments, Univ. Chicago Appendix to Ms. 654, where the other upper voice has the text *‚Gaude virgo salutata,'* which text is also contained in Bod. Corpus Christi College 497 f. 7v, although the music is different. Since the remainder of the fascicle of Lo Ha contains no such motets, this concordance must also be rejected.

Lo Ha 1,2 which Ludwig thought might be two different compositions, is, in reality, only one composition for three voices. The two upper voices have the text *‚Rex omnium lucifluum'* and the lowest voice has the trope, identified by A. Hughes in his catalogus as *‚Regnum tuum solidum'*. This composition, unlike the first item, is a tropic-motet, and is contained in Oxford Mus. c 60. The extent of the Pes is, furthermore, notated: L 3li 2li 2li 3li Rest L 3li, in this case probably binary third mode. This composition is related to Lo Ha 1,1 in so far as both compositions are related to Glorias, the first being a real polyphonic trope, and the second a trope to a part of a Gloria trope (cf. Ludwig *‚Repertorium'* p. 270) with, furthermore, a tropic motet voice thereto. As we can see, therefore, these compositions

are of two completely different styles: Lo Ha 1,1 is definitely older in character, being related structurally to Notre-Dame Choralbearbeitungen, since it has both organal and discantus parts; Lo Ha 1,2 is much more related to the remainder of the compositions of this group which are written in a much more definitely modern style. This difference in styles, which suggests a difference in date, might be explained by the plausible assertion of Handschin p. 91 that R. de Burgate probably engaged in composition before becoming abbot (1268) rather than afterwards. Opposed to this date we have W. de Wintonia figuring in Reading documents from 1276 to 1284, so that we may assume that at least 10 years passed between the compositions of Lo Ha 1,1 and the other compositions of the first group.

Lo Ha 1,3 (which Bukofzer incorrectly numbered 1,4, probably because he considered 1,2 to be composed of two items, although his further numbering would then be wrong) may be Worc. No. 80, as Bukofzer urges; this composition is for at least two voices, but since Worc. No. 80 is a palimpsest it would be better to reserve judgment, especially since other *‚Regnum'* compositions are known. In any event, it is difficult to identify Lo Ha 1,3 conclusively, since only the one text is given. Should it, however, be identical with Worc. No. 80 it would be in the same style as Lo Ha 1,2, the Pes being partly in fifth mode, partly in first. The late date of the Worcester copy need not exclude it from consideration; it might be a later copy, since other palimpsests by the same hand (e.g. Worc. No. 67) are known to have existed at an earlier date.

> Besides the *Regnum* composition contained in Oxford (Bod.) Mus c 60 the following settings are also known: Oxford New College 362, and Oxford (Bod.) E Museo 7; the last of these compositions is definitely of the 14th century, so that it could not be the composition in question.

Lo Ha 1,4 was identified by Ludwig as the Vs *Virgo dei genitrix*; he suggested that this was either the verse of the Responsorium *Stirps* or of the Gradual *Benedicta*. Another possibility is also the verse of the *Alleluia* Vs *Virgo dei genitrix*. Handschin p. 92 pointed out that the Gradual *Benedicta* would be the more logical since the other compositions are all settings of the mass. The assumption that this composition is the Gradual *Benedicta* rather than the *Alleluia* Vs *Virgo dei genitrix* also better explains the fact that this composition, as opposed to the Alleluia compositions, has only the verse. Just such a composition is contained among the Worcester fragments, namely in Worc. No. 14.

> Other settings of the Gradual *Benedicta,* the only Gradual used in the Worcester fragments, are presented in Worc. Nos. 26 and 80a; this latter version is, however, an older copy and is related to Worcester No. 81 the *Alleluia* Vs *Nativitas gloriosae.*

The text of one of the upper voices of Worc. No. 14 is *‚Virgo paris filium'*, but the other missing voice may easily have been *‚Virgo decora'*, the title given in Lo Ha 1,4. Now should this be the composition in question, then we see that Worc. No. 14 is related stylistically to other compositions in Worcester Vol. 1, namely Worc. Nos. 26, 27 and 28. The important feature of all of these compositions, as opposed to those of the type ascribed to Willelmus de Winchecumbe, is that, although the upper voices are tropic to the liturgical text, there are no Stimmtausch parts, or sections which do not have the liturgical melody in the Pes; the tropic texts, moreover, continue from start to finish; they do not alternate from section to section as they do in the compositions of Lo Ha 2. In this case, then, Lo Ha 1,5-8 are also probably of this type and consequently could not be identical with a composition to the same liturgical text in British Museum Arundel 248, a concordance which Bukofzer suggested, but which Ludwig had already mentioned.

> Ludwig's assumption that these compositions are all à 2 is definitely, therefore, incorrect in the case of the first two items, and this is probably true of the others. Since the Reading index does not always give the texts of all the voices, in fact, only one of the texts is given, it may be assumed that the possibility of more texts and more voices in Lo Ha is not conclusively disproved, because only one or two texts are mentioned. It is probable, therefore, that all of the compositions, except the very first, were for three voices, a fact which would again set apart the composition attributed to R. de Burgate.

The second group of compositions has already been discussed, it suffices here to mention only the concordances: 2,1 is No. A; 2,7 is No. C; 2,10 or 2,11 are probably not Worc. No. 27, since this composition is not in the same style as the others; 2,12 is Worc. No. 56; 2,22 is No. I, not Worc. No. 81; 2,23 is No. K; 2,24 is Worc. No. 50; and 2,32 is Worc. No. 45.

The following groups contain, as Ludwig pointed out, Conductus and Motets which are apparently divided according to the number of upper voices, although, as we shall see, this question has not been conclusively solved. Handschin *Musica Disciplina* III p. 94 makes the plausible assumption that Willelmus de Winchecumbe need not have been the author of the entire collection; this, however, does not exclude the possibility that he was the composer of at least some of the motets, specifically Marian-motets for use in the Saturday Marian masses; but certainly we cannot ascribe all Marian compositions to him.

The third group contains Conductus compositions, from which Ludwig identified two texts: 3,1 *‚Veni creator spiritus'* and 3,10 *‚Veni sancte spiritus'*, which concordances he correctly rejected as being positively identical with the same-named Notre Dame Conductus compositions. Handschin p. 93 identified Lo Ha 3, 9 with a Conductus in Cambridge

Gonville and Gaius College 512/543 *‚Ave caro Christi'*. Important in this regard is the question that if this concordance be correct, then the Reading manuscipt must have contained compositions of a later epoch, since the motet *‚Thomas gemma cantuariae'* cannot be, as Kenneth Levy in the *Journal of the Amer. Musicological Society* IV 1951 pp. 220-239 showed, earlier than 1295; the version in the Gonville manuscript must, furthermore, be a copy, not an original composition, because of all the copyist's errors, and consequently later.

Part of the flyleaves of this manuscript, which was unfortunately partially damaged by fire in the last war, has been published in transcription: ff. 254v-255r = Worc. No. 67 *‚Thomas gemma cantuariae'*; f. 255v *‚Doleo super te'* = Handschin *Musica Disciplina* V (1951) pp. 89-90; and f. 262 *‚Gemma nitens'* = Handschin *‚Musikgeschichte im Überblick'* p. 214, cf. also ‚Der Toncharacter' pp. 257-8. Handschin's dating of these leaves as early 14th century, suggested in *Musica Disciplina* III (1949) pp. 93-94, is, undoubtedly, more correct than late 13th century, as suggested in his *‚Musikgeschichte'*, granted, of course, that one or the other composition could be earlier as may be true of *‚Ave caro Christi'*.

Regarding the compositions of the fourth group, none of which Ludwig could identify, Handschin *Musica Disciplina* III 1949 p. 94 proposed the concordance 4,5 *‚Radix Jesse'* to be that of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 65 f. 135. As Handschin pointed out, this composition is definitely of the fourteenth century because minimae occur.

Of the fifth group, we can identify: 5,1, *‚Quem non capit'* = Worc. No. 7; 5,2 *‚Super te Jerusalem'* = Worc. No. 95 = Mo IV 68; 5,3 *‚Praecipuae mihi dant'* = Worc. No. 41; 5,8 *‚Anima mea liquefacta est'* = Princeton Garrett 119 Fr. 3a & 4b (cf. K. Levy *JAMS* IV 1951); 5,12 *‚Salve gemma virginum'* = Worc. No. 72; and 5,13 *‚O Maria vas munditae'* may = the second part of the motet *‚Creatoris gratia'* in Chicago Ms 654 ap. f. 1.

Concerning Lo Ha 5,8 *‚Tota pulchra es' ‚Anima mea liquefacta est'* which Levy p. 222 Transcription I published, binary third mode would undoubtedly have been better because of the Semibreves in measures 51 and 71 of Levy's transcription. (They cannot be plicated Breves, as Levy suggests, especially since this would then be an alteration of the principle whereby the melodies of the upper voices are *quasi* interchanged for the second statement of the Pes.) Levy considers this motet to be of the advanced type, and it would thereby represent the later motets of the collection. In this regard he sights *‚Te dominum clamat'* Worc. No. 71 = Lo Ha 7,45, as another example of this type. Undoubtedly the assumption that Worc. No. 71 is a motet of the later type is due to the misconception that binary third mode is only present in the later motets, and the fact that A. Hughes in *‚Worcester Mediaeval Harmony'* had transcribed this motet in binary rhythm. Considering the

framework of both of these motets, we see that there is a basic difference between them. Worc. No. 71 has a Pes, a phrase which is repeated five times, whereas *‚Tota pulchra es'* is built on the principle of the repetition of shorter phrases: a a, b b, c c; only then is the entire complex repeated. This latter procedure is related more to the Stimmtausch principle of the motets prefixed to the Alleluia Choralbearbeitungen; the former procedure is related more to the motets contained internally in the Choralbearbeitungen. Both of these principles are applied to motets in the Worcester fragments. Worc. Nos. 6, 7, 10, 11 and 12 repeat short sections, with Worc. No. 10, furthermore, differentiating between *‚Vert'* and *‚Clos'* endings. (This example can, however, not be related to the *‚Estampie'* since the *‚Puncta'* are not progressive with always the same ending, as is true in the Estampie.) On the other hand, Worc. Nos. 16, 17, 41 and 76 are built on the principle of successive repetition. We see, furthermore, that both of these principles are represented in Lo Ha 5, and also that there is nothing especially late about either composition method. As to the concordance with Lo Ha 5,8, it is to be regretted that Levy does not give more information about the probable source of the volume, in which his fragments were contained, so that we might have an indication of the source of the compositions; the leaves, themselves, are apparently a century older than the main part of the volume. They are, furthermore, related to the Worcester and Reading material, since they contain, en outre, a Stimmtausch Alleluia Choralbearbeitung.

We see one difficulty which arises from the identification of these motets: Ludwig in his *‚Repertorium'* felt that they must be à 3 and have two texts: ‚Mo*te*t*i* cu*m* dupl*ici* l*itte*ra'. Nevertheless, Worc. Nos. 7 and 95 do not answer this description, for Worc. No. 7 has only one text for both upper voices, and Worc. No. 95 has two Pes. Are we then to assume that this entire group consists of motets with varying numbers of voices, where the only important factor is that there are two upper voices with text, whether these texts be identical or not? Undoubtedly the concordances are correct since there appears to have been significant musical interchange between Worcester and Reading. Naturally there is always the possibility that the Reading versions were altered, reduced or different.

One further interesting feature regarding Lo Ha 5, is that this group consists of mostly, if not exclusively, Marian motets; the fourth group, on the other hand, apparently contains no Marian texts. Naturally we cannot be sure in all cases, judging merely that the following cases involve Marian texts: 5,1 *‚Quem non capit'* the beginning of which Hughes in *‚Worcester Mediaeval Harmony'* erroneously tries to relate to the Marian verse *‚Virgo dei genitrix'*, but which is not identical with any known setting; the composition, nevertheless, contains a Marian text, as Worc. No. 7 shows; 5,2 is also a Marian text as Y. Rokseth *‚Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle'* IV 265 pointed out, it occurs in the sequence *‚Nativitas Mariae'*; 5,3 likewise has the cry *‚O Maria'* at the end of each verse; 5,8 and 5,9, as Ludwig pointed out in his *‚Repertorium'*, are parts of

the Song of Solomon and related to the Tenor ‚*Alma*' from the Marian antiphone (0 48); 5,8, as the concordance shows, has, moreover, Marian texts; 5,9 is a processional antiphone of the assumption; 5,12 is likewise a Marian text; from the incipits of Nos. 5,5 5,13 5,14 and 5,15 we can be sure that at least these were Marian texts. The others are unknown, but there is no reason for not assuming them to be Marian texts. Therefore, at least 10 of the 18, and undoubtedly more, relate to the Virgin Mary, and four of the compositions relate to Worcester, and one relates to a source of unknown provenience, which in turn appears to have been related to Worcester. As we have noted Willelmus de Winchecumbe composed a cycle of Marian compositions, and these motets may well have been part of the material composed for the Saturday Marian masses, and in fact the entire fifth group may consist of his compositions. This assumption would also help to clarify the important link between Worcester and Reading. Stylistically this would be quite possible, since the motets in question are readily relatable to the compositions written in the style which we know to have been associated with Willelmus de Winchecumbe. Nevertheless the question has not been solved definitively.

Of the two compositions in the sixth group, no concordances have as yet come to light. The seventh group, like the fifth, contains some Marian motets, but the contents include many other texts, so that we cannot identify these compositions with any degree of certainty with Willelmus de Winchecumbe. Four of the compositions of the seventh group were tentatively identified by Ludwig in his ‚*Repertorium*'. Of these Handschin, *Musica Disciplina* III 1949 p. 76 felt that Mo 69 = Lo Ha 7,40 ‚*Ad gratiae matris obsequia*', since this entire group in Mo is apparently English, for the reasons he lists. It may also be possible that Mo 55 is Lo Ha 7,17 ‚*Ave Maria gratia plena*', however, the text is liturgical and may have been composed often. The Stimmtausch-motet for the *Alleluia* Vs *Assumpta est,* No. E. has a text for example, the beginning of which is the same as for this Marian antiphone: ‚*Ave Maria plena gratia Dominus tecum mater regia*'; undoubtedly, however, this is not the motet here in question, because that would make it the only Stimmtausch-Motet among those motets which have thus far been identified in Lo Ha.

The use of untroped liturgical texts in the upper voices of Worcester motets is shown, at least, by Worc. No. 10 ‚*O quam glorificata*'; the incidence of troped liturgical texts is naturally much higher. The first two lines of the text Worc. No. 12, for example, form an antiphone for St. Catherine, the second line being extended by ‚*in arvis*' to make an appropriate rhyme, and the remainder of the text being freely composed.

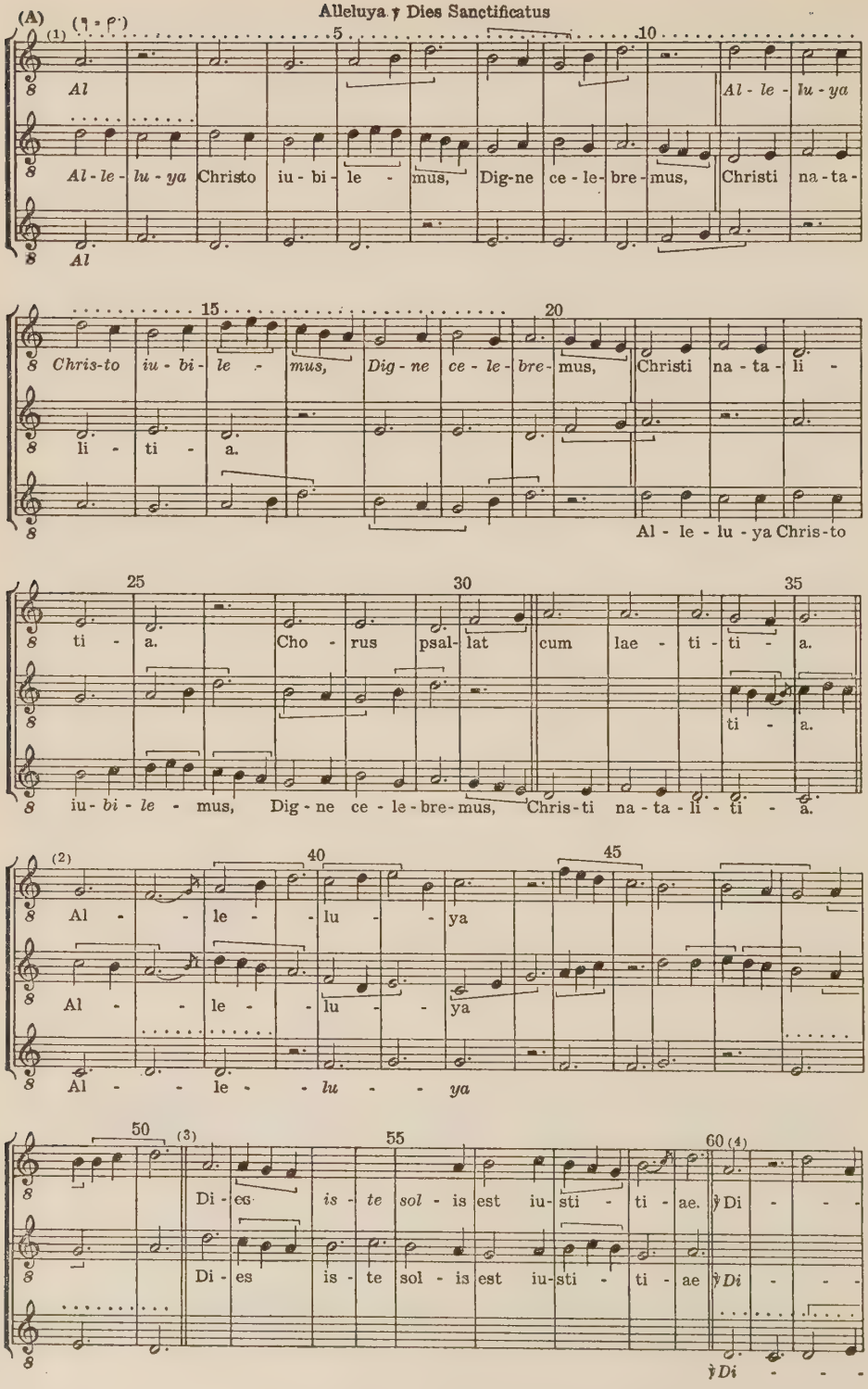
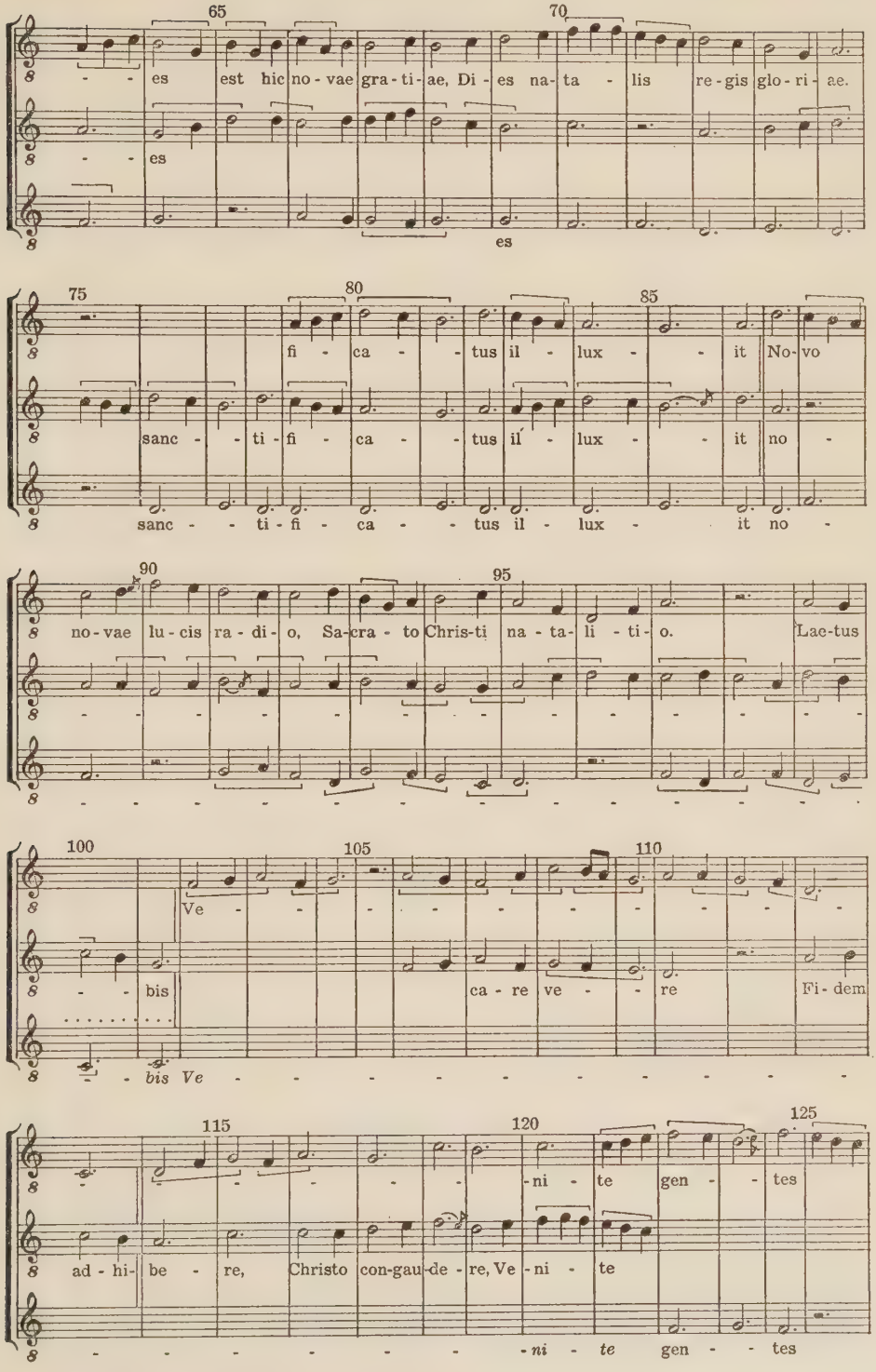
Since we already have a concordance with Cambridge Corpus Christi College 65 in Lo Ha 4,5, it is probable that Lo Ha 7,12, which Ludwig deciphered as ‚*Veni creat*or spiritus' is identical with the same named composition in this Cambridge fragment. This would, then, be a later composition since minimae appear, at least in Lo Ha 4,5.

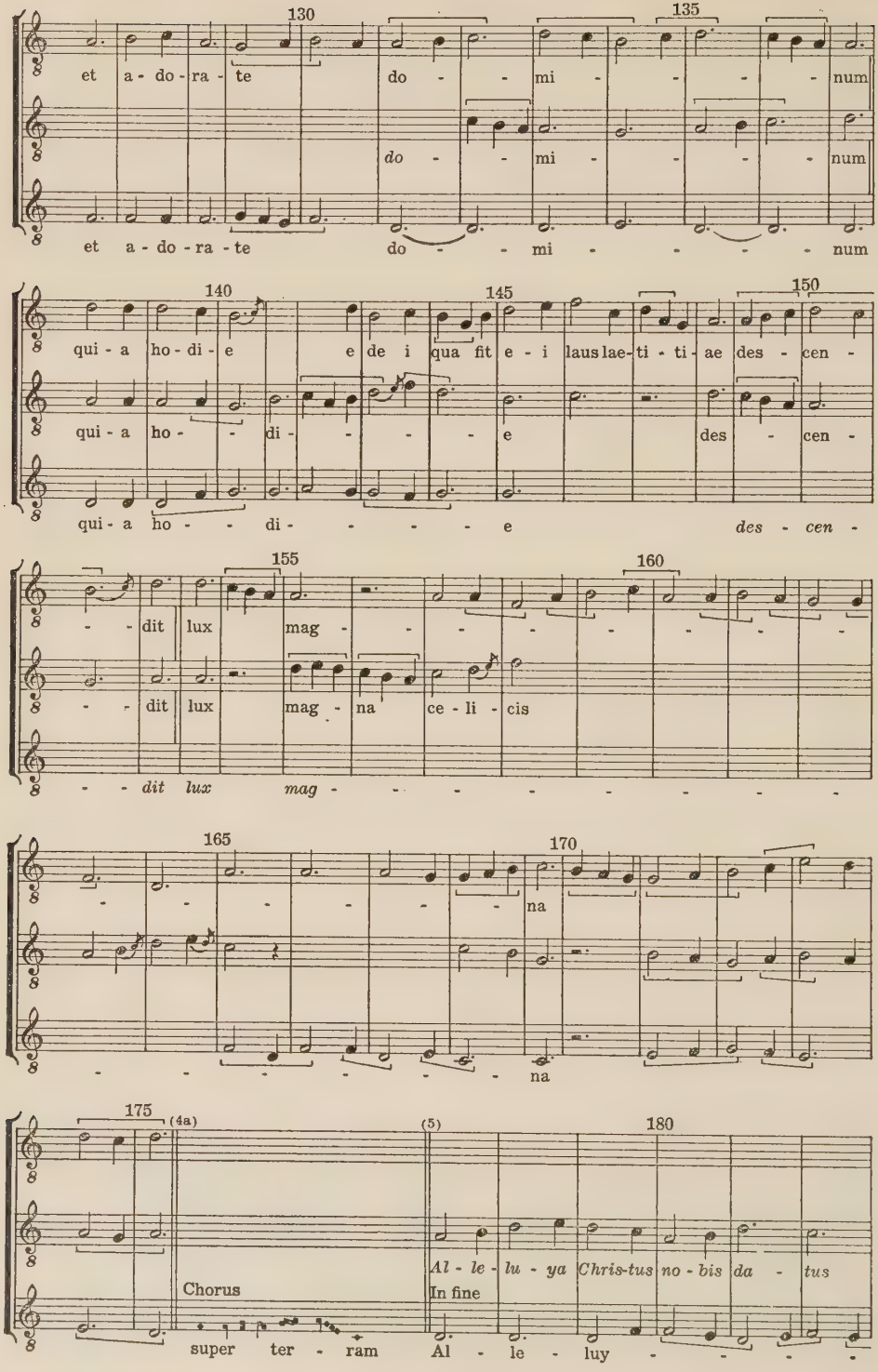
We might add, however, that compositions, containing minimae, need not be too late since minimae are present in the Worcester fragments, notably in Fragments XIX and XXXII, which are not later that early 14th century. Yet we can be sure that the motets contained in the latter groups of Lo Ha are heterogeneous and do not come from the authorship of one person. The further Choralbearbeitung *‚Alleluia* Vs *Navitas gloriosae'* containing likewise minimae, has been rejected as = Lo Ha 2,22 for the reasons advanced in the discussion of that group.

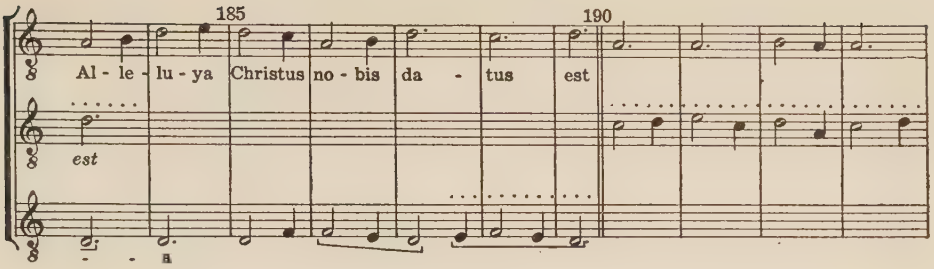
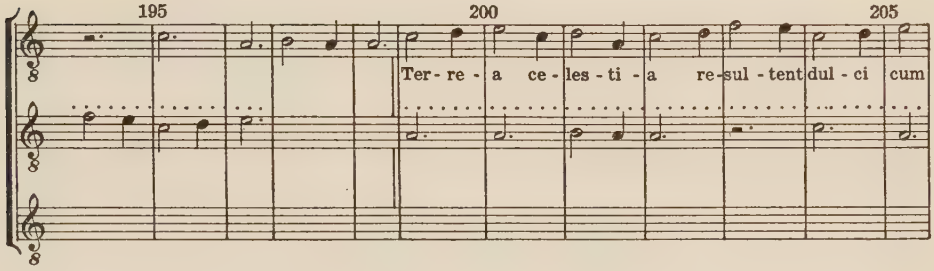
As far as Lo Ha 7,26 *‚Virgo Sancta Katerina'* is concerned, this composition may be identical with Worc. No. 32 or with the motet in Oxford, New College 362 f. 82r, whose text is *‚Virgo sancta Katerina gemma nitens'*. Lo Ha 7,29 *‚Salve gemma confessorum'* may well be identical with Worc. No. 39, as Bukofzer proposes, or with another composition whose text may be related to Chevalier 17975. Lo Ha 7,45 is, however, certainly *‚Te dominum clamat angelus'*, and identical with Worc. No. 71.

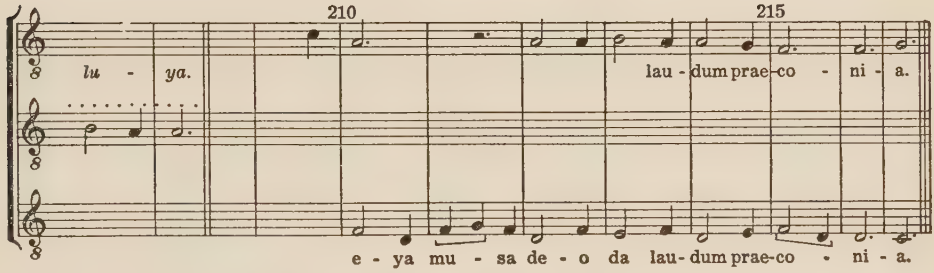
Nevertheless, we must proceed with caution in the identification of all motets merely by their incipits, since we are not completely oriented on the problem of English motet collections. There is, for example, no extant collection of English motets such as the Montpellier or Bamberg manuscripts. Although there are many fragments containing English polyphonic music of the period, we are, as yet, unable to trace any possible common origin outside of the Reading index and the Worcester fragments. In the Reading list we have, fortunately, the index of a larger English manuscript containing polyphonic Choralbearbeitungen and Conductus and Motets; this manuscript was a veritable English *‚Magnus Liber'*. The direct link, however, of Willelmus de Winchecumbe, and the approximate date of his activity, ca. 1280, and the relationship between Reading (and possibly Salisbury since Rawl. c 400 is a Salisbury manuscript) on the one hand and Worcester/Leominster on the other, suggest a common origin of the concordances between the lost Reading manuscript and the Worcester fragments, and indirectly attests to the authenticity of the concordances. Thus also, we have, among so many anonymous compositions, information regarding the composers of some of the compositions, and we are thereby better able to analyse the style of certain groups of compositions. Not only that, but we are now able to appraise the contribution of England to the polyphonic music of the 13th century, a contribution which even found great favour on the continent.

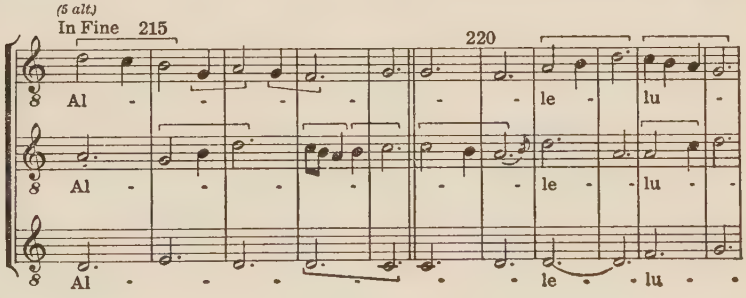
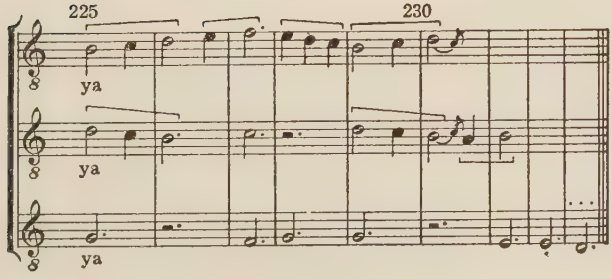
New York

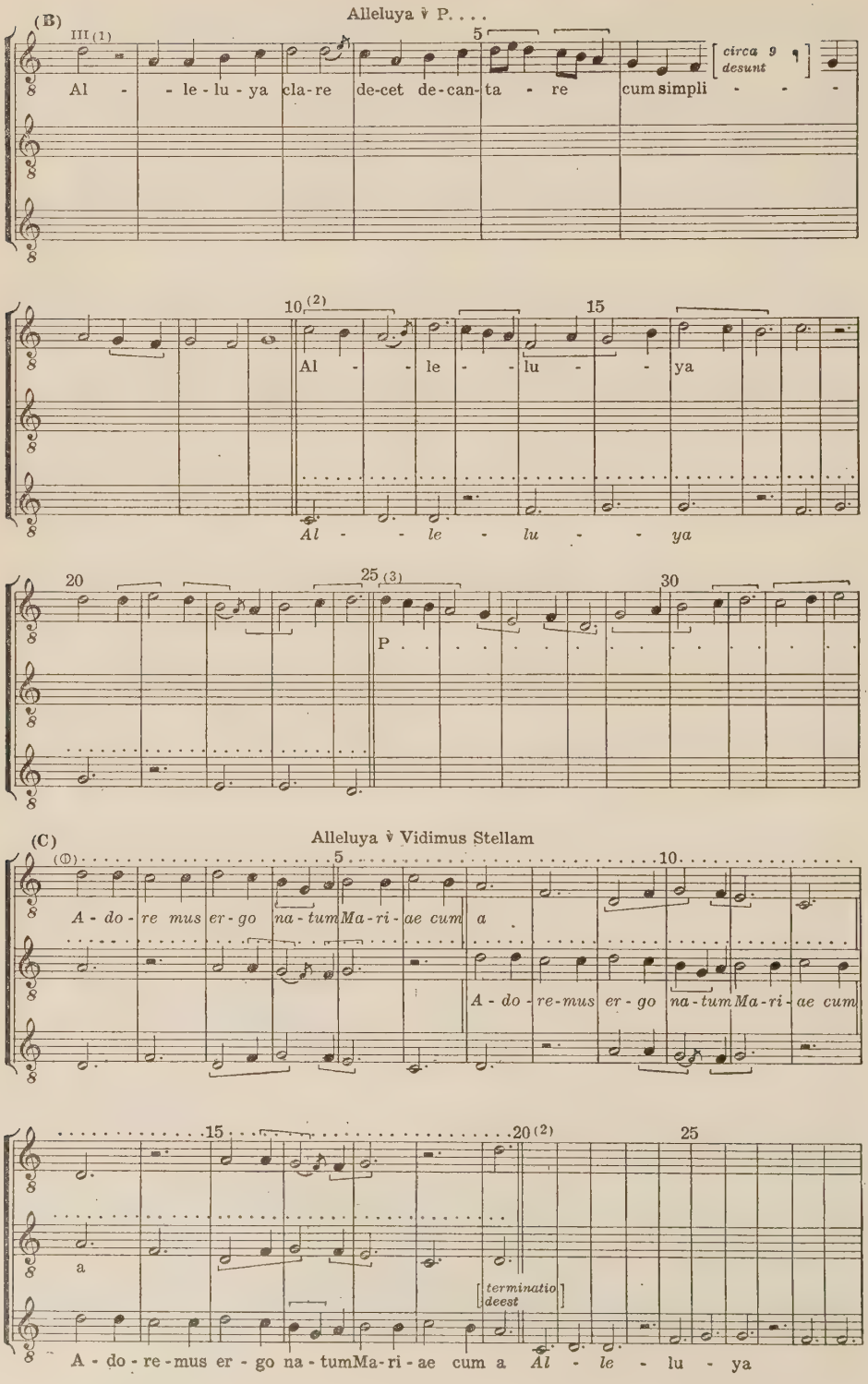
In the following transcriptions, musical passages under ..... have been reconstructed; italicised parts of the text have likewise been added.

(A)
Alleluya ỿ Dies Sanctificatus
(1)
Al
Al - le - lu - ya
Al - le - lu - ya Christo iu - bi - le - mus, Dig-ne ce - le - bre - mus, Christi na - ta -
Al
Chris-to iu - bi - le - mus, Dig - ne ce - le - bre - mus, Christi na - ta - li -
li - ti - a.
Al - le - lu - ya Chris-to
ti - a. Cho - rus psal - lat cum lae - ti - ti - a.
ti - a.
iu - bi - le - mus, Dig - ne ce - le - bre - mus, Chris - ti na - ta - li - ti - a.
(2)
Al - - le - - lu - - ya
Al - - le - - lu - - ya
Al - - le - - lu - - ya
(3)
Di - es is - te sol - is est iu - sti - ti - ae. ỿ Di - - -
Di - es is - te sol - is est iu - sti - ti - ae ỿ Di - - -
ỿ Di - - -

65
70
es est hic no - vae gra - ti - ae, Di - es na - ta - lis re - gis glo - ri - ae.
es
es
75
80
85
fi - ca - - tus il - lux - - it No - vo
sanc - - ti - fi - ca - - tus il - lux - - it no -
sanc - - ti - fi - ca - - tus il - lux - it no -
90
95
no - vae lu - cis ra - di - o, Sa - cra - to Chris - ti na - ta - li - ti - o. Lae - tus
100
105
110
Ve - - - - - - - - - - -
bis ca - re ve - - re Fi - dem
bis Ve - - - - - - - - - - -
115
120
125
- ni - te gen - - tes
ad - hi - be - re, Christo con - gau - de - re, Ve - ni - te
- - - - - - - ni - te gen - - tes

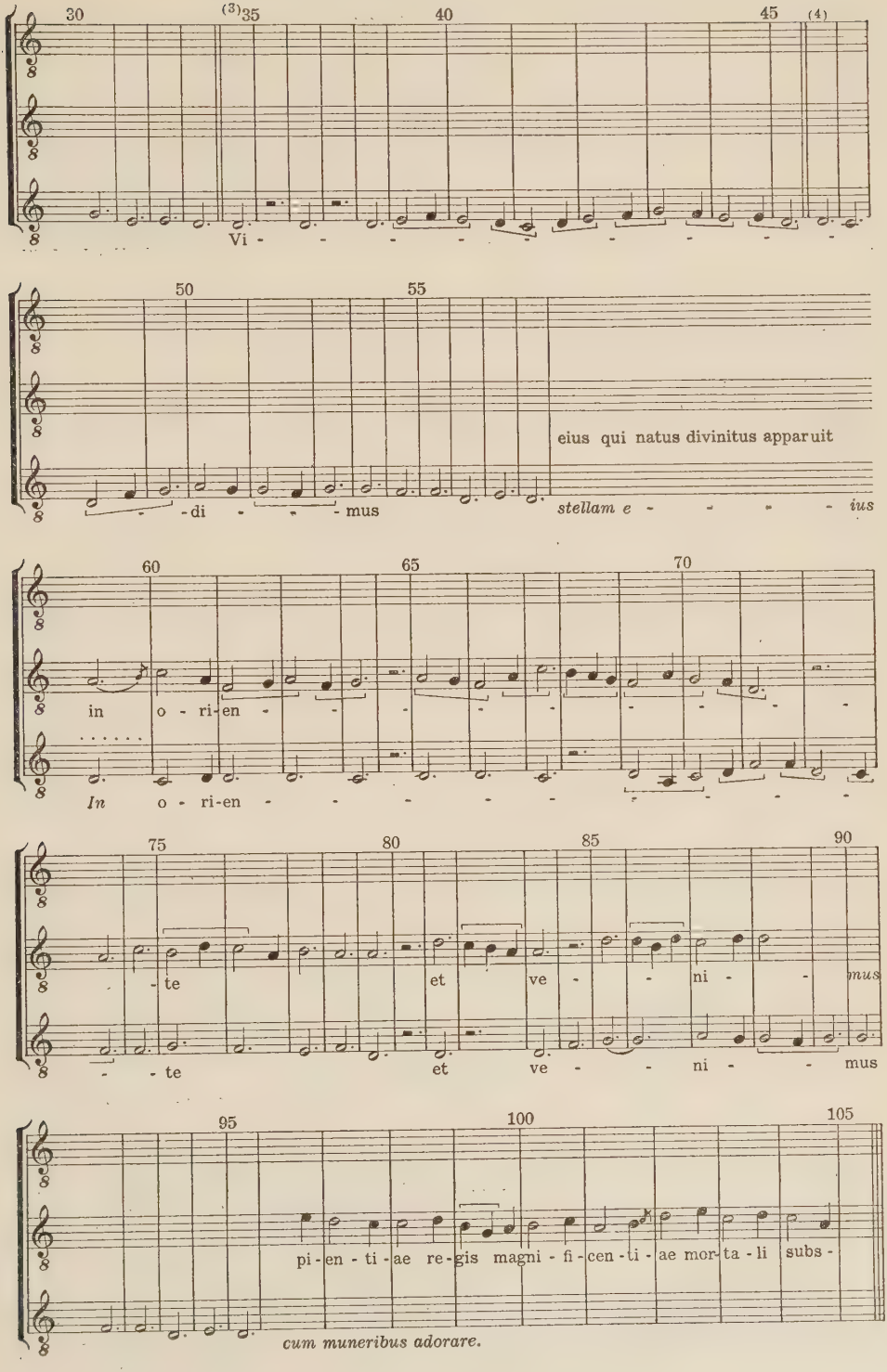
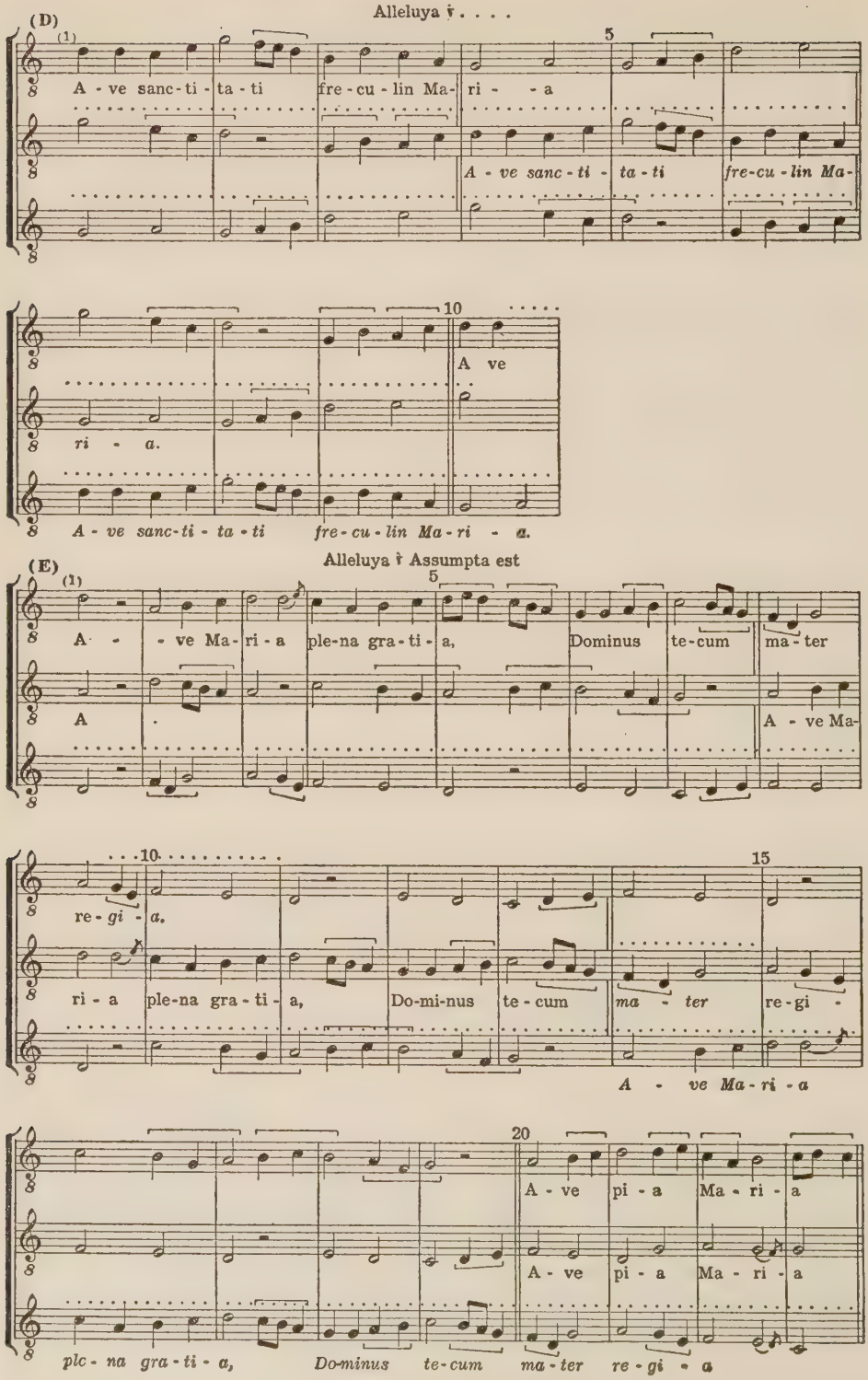
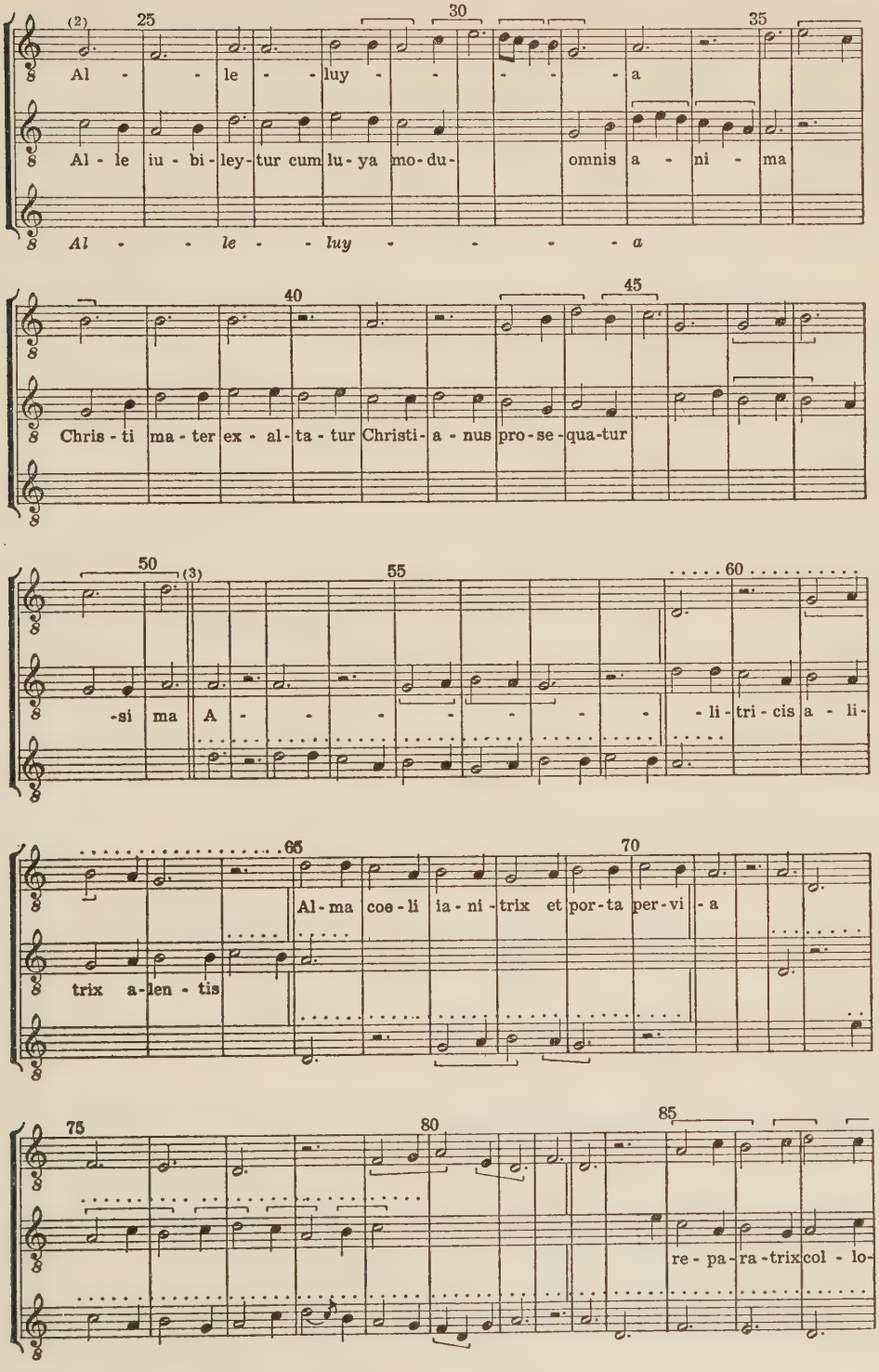
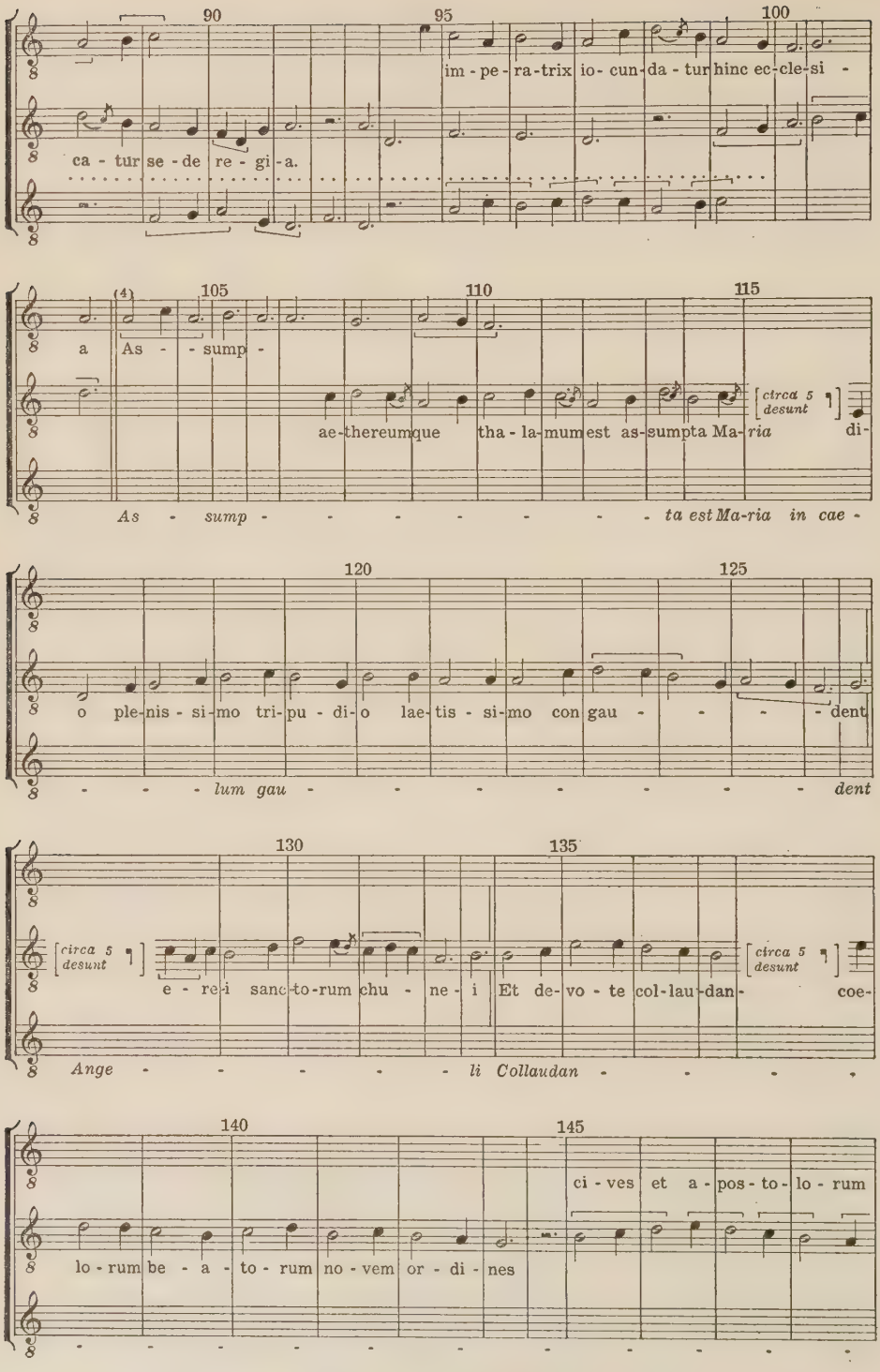
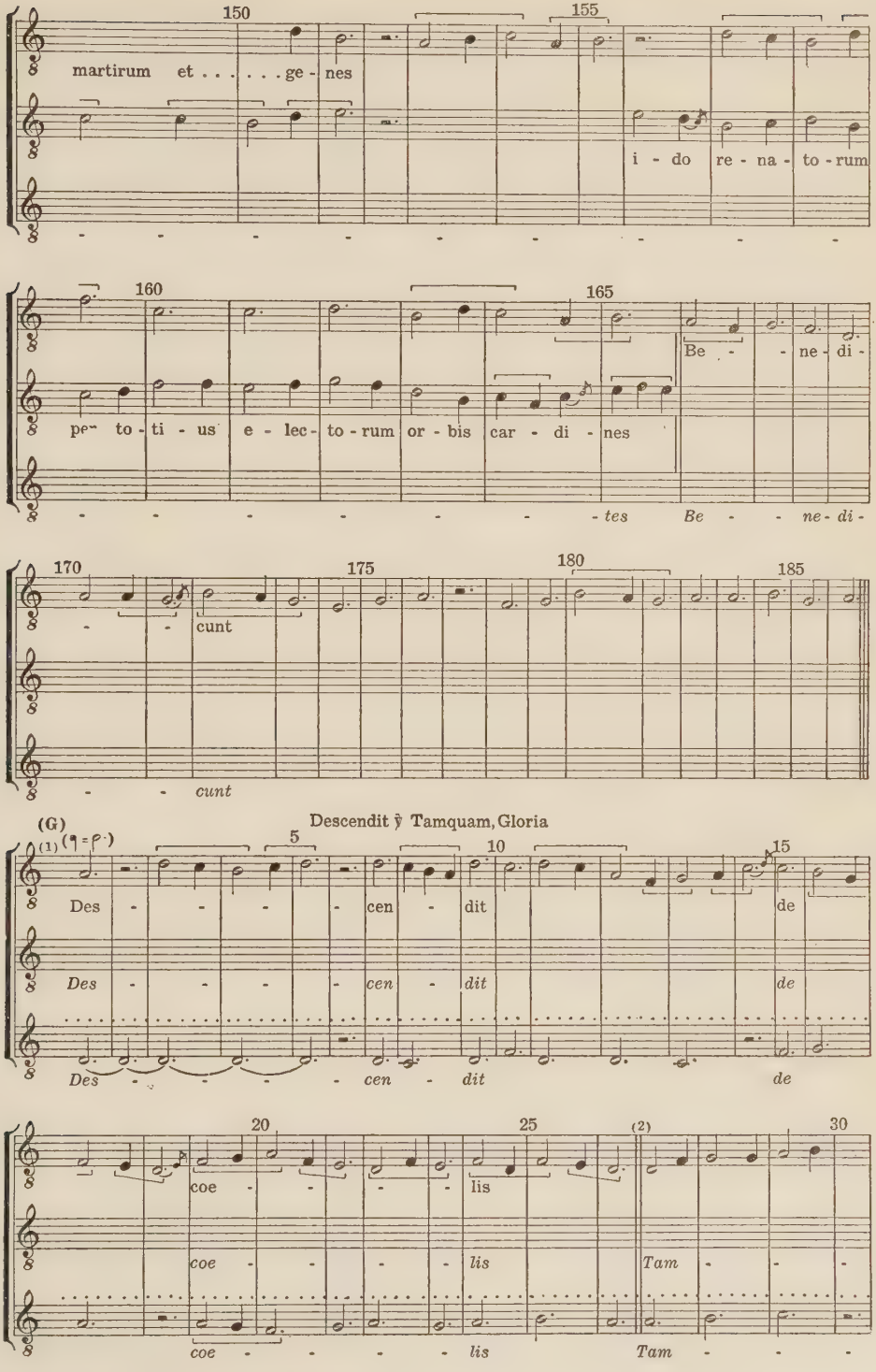
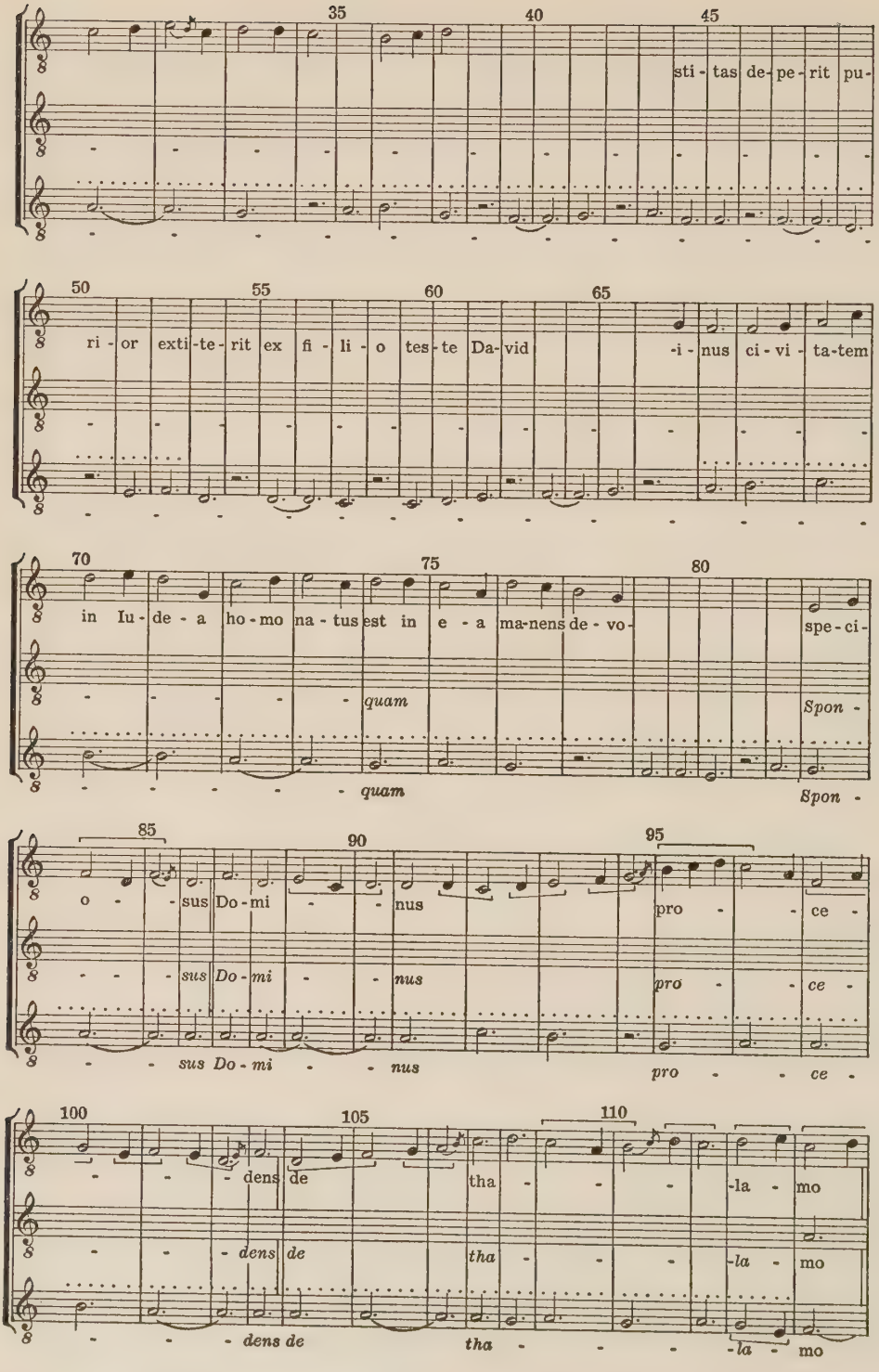
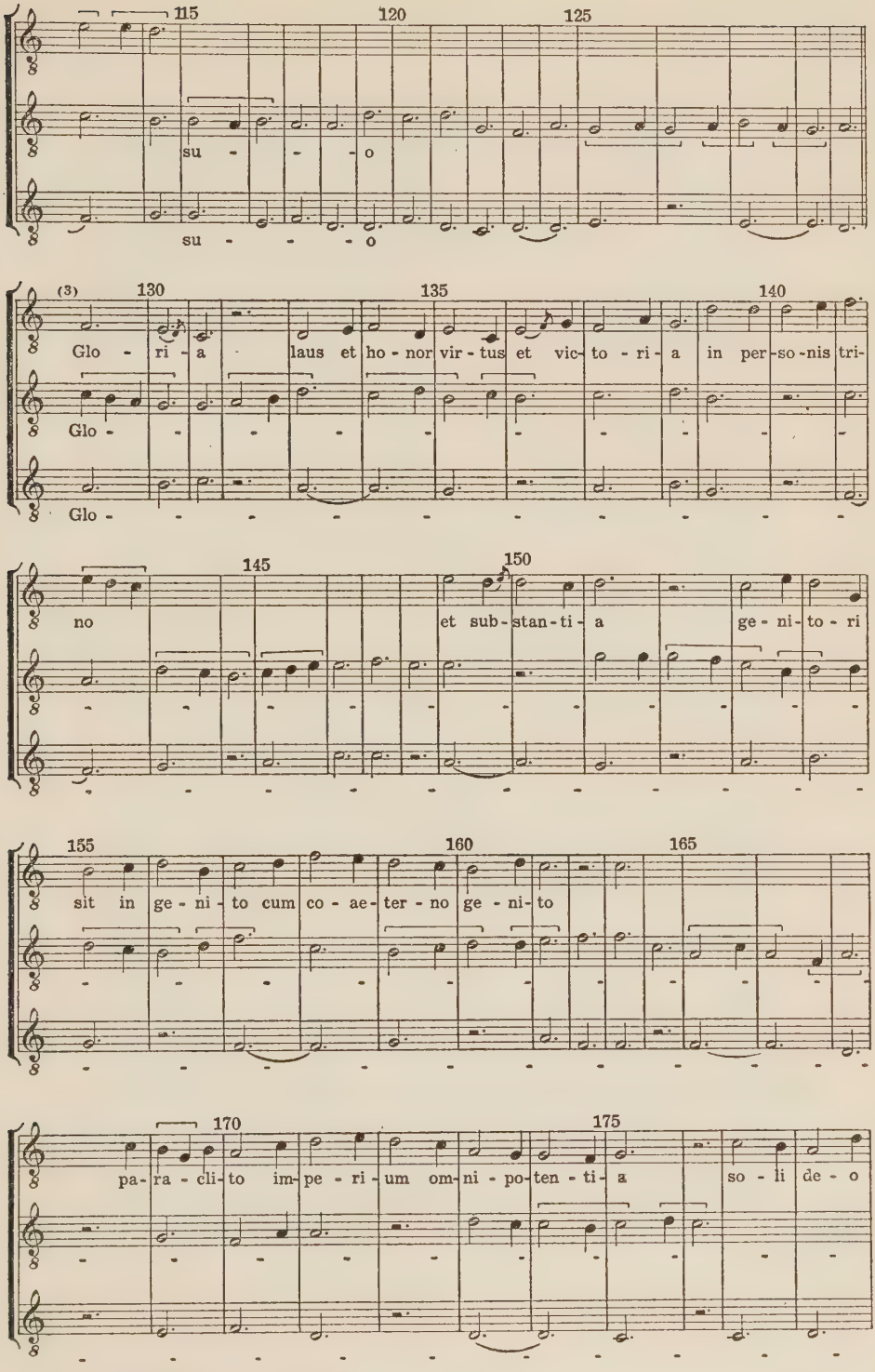
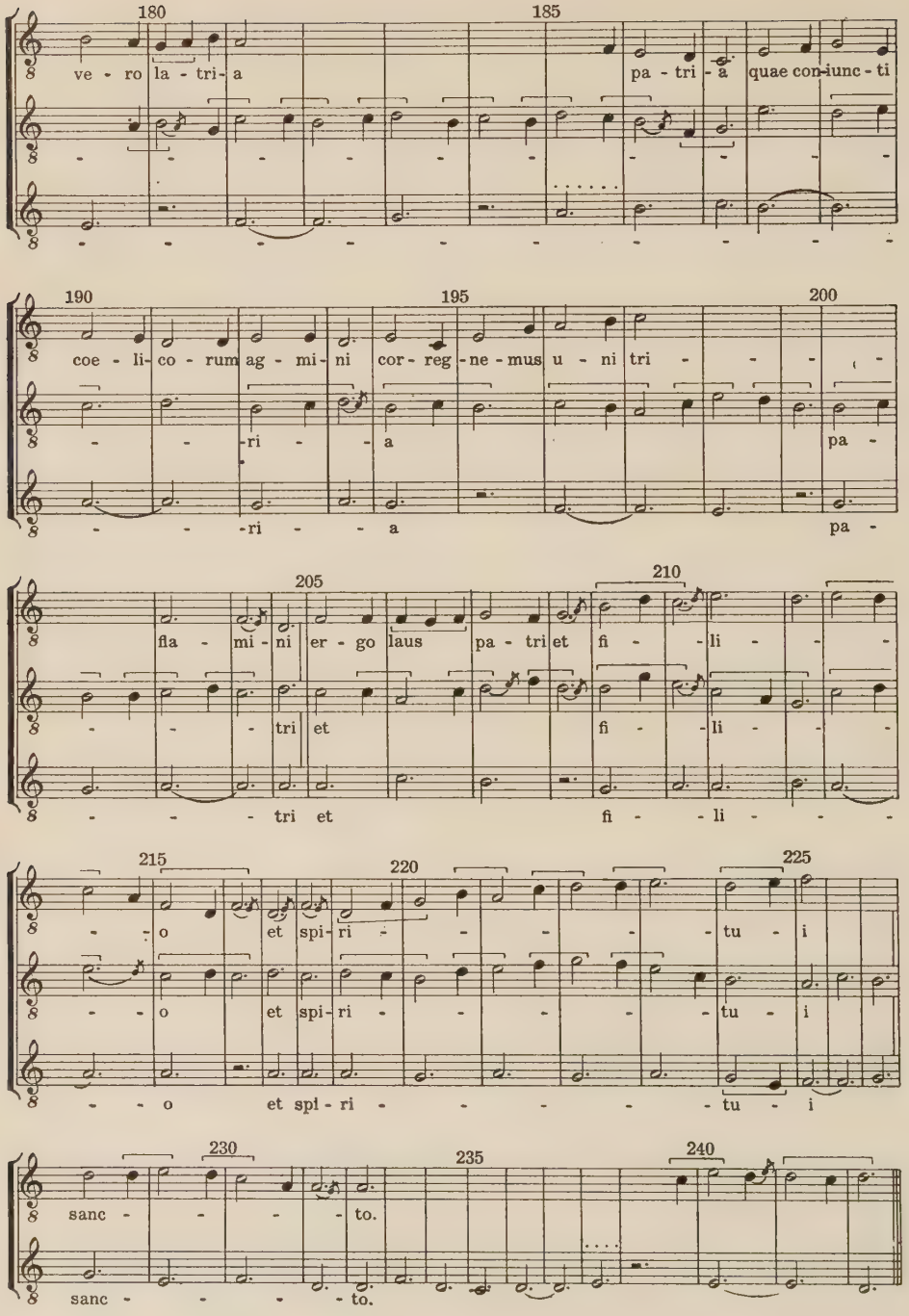

130
135
et a - do - ra - te do - - mi - - - - num
do - - mi - - - - num
et a - do - ra - te do - - mi - - - - num
140
145
150
qui - a ho - di - e e de i qua fit e - i laus lae - ti - ti - ae des - cen -
qui - a ho - - di - - - - e des - cen -
qui - a ho - - di - - - - e des - cen -
155
160
- - dit lux mag - - - - - - - - -
- - dit lux mag - na ce - li - cis
- - dit lux mag - - - - - - - - -
165
170
- - - - - - na
- - - - - - na
175
(4a)
(5)
180
Chorus
super ter - ram
In fine
Al - le - lu - ya Chris-tus no - bis da - tus
Al - le - luy - - - -

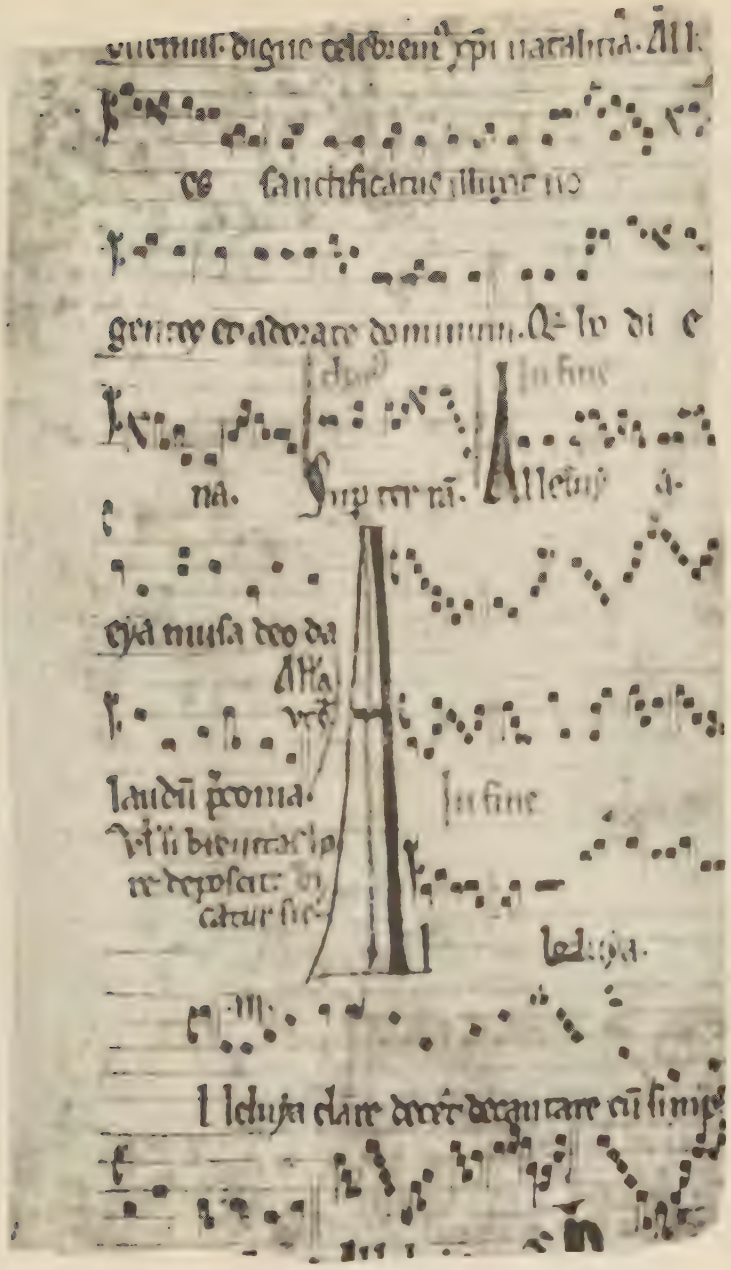




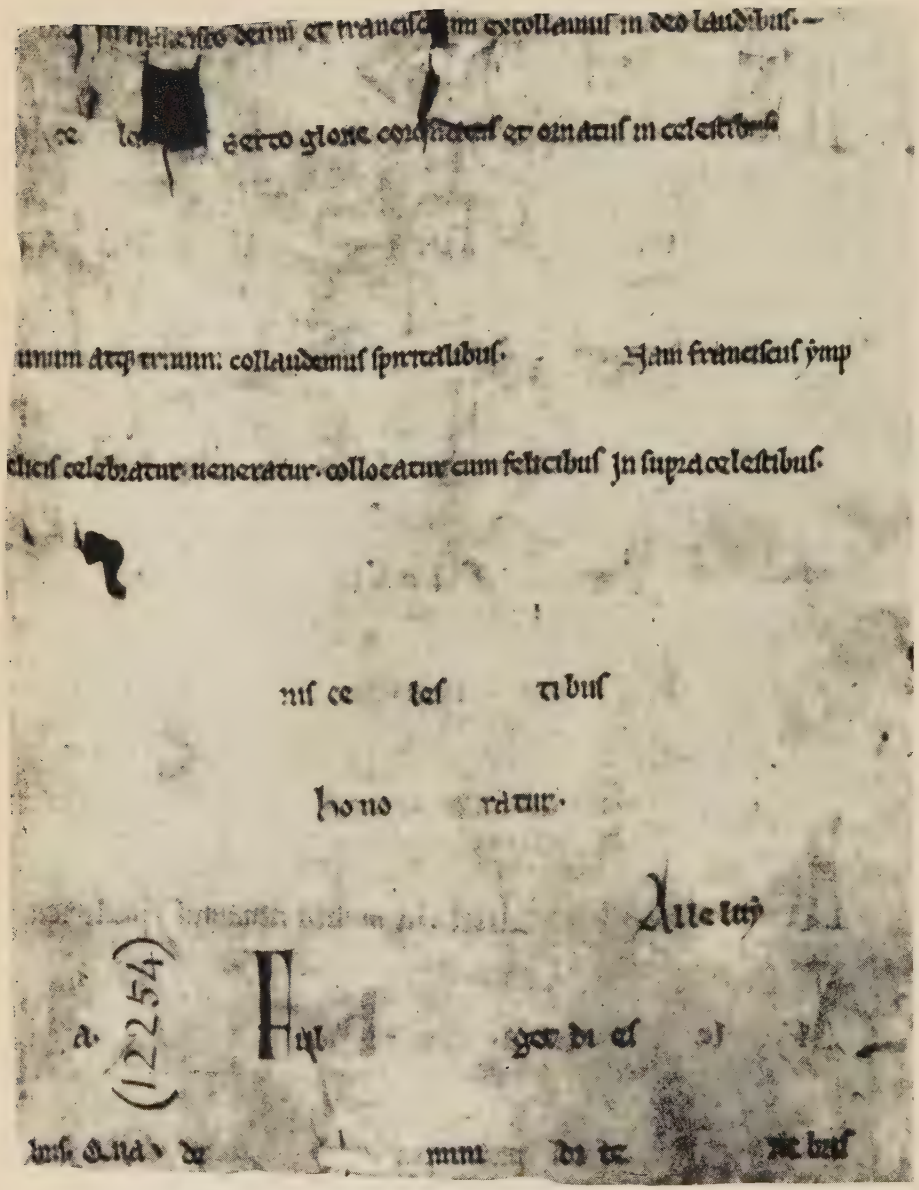
Vel si brevitas ipsare deposcit dicatur sic:




(B)
Alleluya ♮ P. . . .
III (1)
5
circa 9
desunt
Al - - le - lu - ya cla-re de-cet de-can- ta - re cum simpli - - -
10 (2)
15
Al - - le - - lu - - ya
Al - - le - lu - - ya
20
25 (3)
30
P
(C)
Alleluya ♮ Vidimus Stellam
(Φ)
5
10
A - do - re mus er - go na - tum Ma - ri - ae cum a
A - do - re-mus er - go na - tum Ma - ri - ae cum
15
20 (2)
25
a
terminatio deest
A - do - re - mus er - go na - tum Ma - ri - ae cum a Al - le - lu - ya


30
(3)35
40
45
(4)
Vi - - - - - - - - - -
50
55
eius qui natus divinitus apparuit
- di - - - mus
stellam e - - - - - ius
60
65
70
in o - ri-en - - - - - - - - - -
In o - ri-en - - - - - - - - - -
75
80
85
90
- - te
et ve - - ni - - mus
- - te
et ve - - ni - - mus
95
100
105
pi-en-ti-ae re-gis magni-fi-cen-ti-ae mor-ta-li subs-
cum muneribus adorare.

(D)
(1)
Alleluya ỳ . . . .
A - ve sanc - ti - ta - ti fre - cu - lin Ma - ri - - a
A - ve sanc - ti - ta - ti fre - cu - lin Ma -
A ve
ri - a.
A - ve sanc - ti - ta - ti fre - cu - lin Ma - ri - a.
(E)
(1)
Alleluya ỳ Assumpta est
A - - ve Ma - ri - a ple - na gra - ti - a, Dominus te - cum ma - ter
A .
A - ve Ma -
re - gi - a,
ri - a ple - na gra - ti - a, Do - mi - nus te - cum ma - ter re - gi -
A - ve Ma - ri - a
A - ve pi - a Ma - ri - a
A - ve pi - a Ma - ri - a
ple - na gra - ti - a, Do - minus te - cum ma - ter re - gi - a

(2)
25
30
35
Al - - le - - luy - - - - - a
Al - le iu - bi - ley - tur cum lu - ya mo - du - omnis a - ni - ma
Al - - le - - luy - - - - - a
40
45
Chris - ti ma - ter ex - al - ta - tur Christi - a - nus pro - se - qua - tur
50
(3)
55
60
-si ma A - - - - - - - li - tri - cis a - li -
65
70
Al - ma coe - li ia - ni - trix et por - ta per - vi - a
trix a - len - tis
75
80
85
re - pa - ra - trix col - lo -

90
95
100
im - pe - ra-trix io- cun-da - tur hinc ec-cle-si -
ca - tur se - de re - gi - a.
105
110
115
a As - - sump -
ae-thereumque tha - la-mum est as-sumpta Ma-ria di-
circa 5 desunt
As - sump - - - - - - - - ta est Ma-ria in cae -
120
125
o ple-nis - si-mo tri-pu - di-o lae-tis - si-mo con gau - - - - dent
- - - - lum gau - - - - - - - - dent
130
135
circa 5 desunt
e - re-i sanc-to-rum chu - ne - i Et de-vo - te col-lau-dan- coe-
Ange - - - - - - li Collaudan - - - -
140
145
ci - ves et a - pos - to - lo - rum
lo - rum be - a - to - rum no - vem or - di - nes

150
155
martirum et . . . . . ge - nes
i - do re - na - to - rum
160
165
pe- to - ti - us e - lec - to - rum or - bis car - di - nes
Be - - ne - di -
- - - - - - - - - - - tes Be - - ne - di -
170
175
180
185
- - cunt
- - cunt
(G)
Descendit ŷ Tamquam, Gloria
(1) (𝅗𝅥 = 𝅘𝅥)
5
10
15
Des - - - - - cen - dit de
Des - - - - - cen - dit de
Des - - - - - cen - dit de
20
25
(2)
30
coe - - - - - lis
coe - - - - - lis Tam - - -
coe - - - - - lis Tam - - -

35
40
45
sti - tas de - pe - rit pu -
50
55
60
65
ri - or exti - te - rit ex fi - li - o tes - te Da - vid -i - nus ci - vi - ta - tem
70
75
80
in Iu - de - a ho - mo na - tus est in e - a ma - nens de - vo - spe - ci -
quam Spon -
quam Spon -
85
90
95
o - sus Do - mi - nus pro - ce -
sus Do - mi nus pro ce -
sus Do - mi - nus pro - ce -
100
105
110
dens de tha - la - mo
dens de tha - la - mo
dens de tha - la - mo

115
120
125
su - - - o
su - - - o
(3)
130
135
140
Glo - ri - a laus et ho - nor vir - tus et vic - to - ri - a in per - so - nis tri -
Glo - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Glo - - - - - - - - - - - - -
145
150
no et sub - stan - ti - a ge - ni - to - ri
155
160
165
sit in ge - ni - to cum co - ae - ter - no ge - ni - to
170
175
pa - ra - cli - to im - pe - ri - um om - ni - po - ten - ti - a so - li de - o

180
185
ve - ro la - tri - a
pa - tri - a quae con-iunc - ti
190
195
200
coe - li - co - rum ag - mi - ni cor - reg - ne - mus u - ni tri - - - -
- - - ri - - a
pa -
- - - ri - - a
pa -
205
210
fla - mi - ni er - go laus pa - tri et fi - - li - - -
- - - tri et
fi - - li - - -
- - - tri et
fi - - li - - -
215
220
225
- - o et spi - ri - - - - - tu - i
- - - o et spi - ri - - - - - tu - i
- - o et spi - ri - - - - - tu - i
230
235
240
sanc - - - - - to.
sanc - - - - - to.



Oxford, Rawlinson c 400 * Frag. 3 a



Oxford, Rawlinson c 400 * p. 8

THE MANUSCRIPT CHANTILLY, MUSÉE CONDÉ 1047 *

GILBERT REANEY

The importance of the manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047 (*Ch*) and Modena, Bibl. Est. M. 5. 24 (*olim* lat. 568) (*Mod*) needs no stressing for those who have studied the complexities of late fourteenth century notational practice. Unfortunately no thoroughgoing study of the first source has yet been made, though the second was investigated with great success by Nino Pirrotta in 1944 [1]. The first inquiry into the contents of *Ch* was made from the literary side by Léopold Delisle in 1900, and he printed many of the texts — those he thought important in full, the others in abbreviated form [2]. Johannes Wolf's catalogue of the musical works in *Ch* is already more scientific if too often based on Delisle's sometimes erroneous findings [3]. Many details were corrected in Ludwig's extended review of Wolf's history of mensural notation [4], a serious description of the codex having been made previously in Ludwig's still valuable article on the polyphonic music of the fourteenth century [5]. Since then Ludwig has proceeded to further investigation of *Ch* in the introductory volume of his edition of the musical works of Guillaume de Machaut [6]. In particular he has traced the previous history of the manuscript as well as he could in the given circumstances. Finally Heinrich Besseler, to whom we owe so much information about medieval manuscripts of polyphonic music, has brought the situation up to date by his article *Chantilly, Ms. 1047* in Friedrich Blume's new encyclopedia of music past and present [7].

These landmarks in the history of *Ch* reveal that an inventory at least is still required, but the purpose of this article is also to summarise existing

* For all *sigla* see pp. 86 f.

[1] *Il codice Estense lat. 568 e la musica francese al principio del '400,* in *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo,* 4. Serie, t. 5, parte II, 1944-5; offprint Palermo, 1946.

[2] *Institut de France, Le Musée Condé, Chantilly, Le Cabinet des livres, Manuscrits,* II, Paris, 1900, 277-303.

[3] WolfG I, 328-335.

[4] *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* VI (1904-5), 597-641.

[5] *Ibid* IV (1902-3), 16-69.

[6] *Einleitung zu Guillaume de Machaut, Musikalische Werke,* II, Leipzig, 1928, Sp. 22b-24a.

[7] MGG II, Sp. 1085-1090.

information about the manuscript, its composers and music and where possible add to it. In so doing I shall try to follow the excellent methods employed in articles of this kind previously printed in *Musica Disciplina* [8].

THE MANUSCRIPT

The codex Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047 (*Ch*) is a folio manuscript measuring 38.7 x 28.6 cm. It originally consisted of 72 folios in 6 fascicles of 12 folios apiece (senios), though the first 12 folios were already missing in the fifteenth century, since at that time two pieces by Baude Cordier were added on the new folios 11v-12. The original binding too must have been missing at this period, and it was only in 1861 when the ms was purchased for the duc d'Aumale by the sculptor Bigazzi in Florence that this deficiency was remedied. A title page and brief description of the manuscript was also added for the Duke by Flammermont [9], but these are of little value to the present-day investigator. Two other folios besides the two containing the Cordier pieces were also added in the fifteenth century but all four were originally without foliation. The numbers 9-12 are nineteenth century additions like those on the new pages added by Flammermont, who naturally wanted to complete the manuscript while keeping to the old foliation. On the first of the added fifteenth century folios are the names $\underset{.F.}{\text{BETISE}}$ and $\underset{.A.}{\text{LISA}}$ together with an independent entry by an early owner of the manuscript who writes: *A di (li?) xviii di luglio 1461 Franciescho d'alto biancho degli alberti dono questo libro alle mie fanciulle e a Rechollo Lançalao suo figliolo. Amen (?) Thomasso Spinelly. Propria manu.* All of this sentence except the date is crossed out in the manuscript. Folios 9v-10 contain the old but not original index, which divides the music into 3 sections, a division we have followed in the inventory. Admittedly the division is not absolute, since the songs in cantilena form à 3 sometimes include works à 2 and à 4, just as the second section sometimes includes works à 3, but in general the principle holds good. Only the headings to sections II and III are given in the old index and even these are very general designations: *Balades a iiii chans* and *Motes*. Section I comprises three fascicles as against 1 apiece for sections II and III, a tribute to the popularity of the cantilena works à 3 in the late fourteenth century. The whole manuscript apart from the new folios seems to have been the work of an Italian scribe, though recently this opinion has been questioned [10]. This does not mean to say that the

[8] I should like to thank particularly the following for help in different ways: Mme. G. Thibault, M. F. Lesure, Signor N. Pirrotta, Dr. R. Bowen, lecturer in French at Reading University, and M. E. Goblet, librarian of the Musee Condé, Chantilly.

[9] F. Ludwig, *Einleitung zu G. de Machaut, Musikalische Werke* II, 23a.

[10] ApelL, 3b.

manuscript was necessarily written in Italy, and indeed we shall see that the links with South-West France are predominant, though it is not possible to say finally whether the ms was written in France or Italy. Folios 10v-11 are blank, and folios 11v-12 contain the already mentioned Cordier pieces, which are not included in the old index. Here a personal touch seems evident, and one is tempted to think that Cordier himself inserted the compositions. If so it is probably his hand that later added the names Hasprois and Senleches to nos. 47 and 67 respectively, compositions which were originally anonymous. The hand of Cordier's added rondeaux is certainly a French one, and the decorative and pedagogic intention lying behind them is in keeping with the general tendency of the whole ms. Indeed the complex mensuration of the heart-shaped *Belle, bonne, sage* belies the simple character of the work. The old index is also in a French hand, but it is a far less elegant one than the expert hand of the Cordier additions, and contrasts strikingly with the neat semi-Gothic Italian hand of the ms corpus.

There are ten six-line staves per page, except where a large amount of text necessitates the omission of a stave. The capitals were not completed when the manuscript was written, though the minute guideletter appears clearly in each case. The extensive use of red ink is one of the features of the manuscript, a feature which is characteristic of the Franco-Italian notation of the late Ars Nova period [11]. In some cases red predominates over black, even the mensuration signs being written in red, though without changing their meaning thereby. White notes too already enjoy considerable freedom, and in extreme cases they are employed on an equal footing with black and red. Particularly complex from a notational viewpoint are nos. 67, 69 and 77. In these works coloration, strange note forms and varied mensuration signs combine to make a notational picture often more complex than the music itself. There can thus be little doubt that *Ch* was a test manuscript for a group of singers whose aim was to sing at sight anything put before them [12].

THE CONTENTS

With but few exceptions *Ch* is composed entirely of secular music. The motets, which are significantly placed at the end of the manuscript, are in some cases liturgical, in others definitely secular. Three works in cantilena style, two Ballades and one Virelai, have Latin texts, and appear

[11] Cf. particularly the mss *Mod* and Turin, Bibl. Naz. I, ii. 9 (*TuB*). The subject is studied in WolfG, I; ApelN, 328, 330, 348, 356, 358, 360, 362, 364, 366, 367, 405-435; G. Reaney, article *Color* in MGG II, Sp. 1567-1574.

[12] G. de Van, *La Pédagogie musicale à la fin du moyen âge,* in *Musica Disciplina* II (1948), 84.

to be para-liturgical. The three motets on French texts, however, are pure secular works in the manner of the second rhetoric.

All told there are 113 pieces in the volume, of which one has been copied twice (no. 13 = 81), so that the real total is 112. The great majority are Ballades — there are 70 of them altogether — while the remaining works are Rondeaux, Virelais, motets, Rondeau refrains and one work difficult to classify which we shall call a *chanson*. The following table shows the exact distribution of the contents of *Ch*, according to the various species mentioned above. The numbers are those of the progressive numeration assigned in the inventory published at the end of this article. Those numbers followed by an asterisk refer to *unica*. (Lost mss are not included when assessing *unica* unless a copy has been made as in the case of many pieces from *Str*).

TABLE 1

Forms employed

Species	Total	Number in *Ch*
Ballades	70	3, 6*, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17*, 18, 19*, 20*, 21*, 22, 23, 24*, 26, 28*, 32*, 33*, 34*, 35*, 37*, 38*, 39*, 40*, 41*, 42, 43*, 44*, 45, 46, 47*, 48, 49*, 50*, 53*, 54, 55*, 56*, 57, 58*, 61*, 62, 63*, 64*, 65*, 66*, 68, 69*, 70*, 71, 72*, 73*, 74*, 75*, 76*, 77*, 78, 79*, 80*, 82*, 83*, 84*, 85*, 86*, 87, 88, 92, 94*, 95*, 96.
Chanson	1	67*.
Motets (isorhythmic)	13	101, 102, 103, 104*, 105*, 106, 107*, 108*, 109*, 110*, 111, 112, 113*.
Rondeaux (non-isorhythmic)	10	1*, 2*, 12*, 27*, 29*, 31*, 52*, 93*, 98*, 99.
Rondeaux (isorhythmic)	4	8*, 9*, 30*, 51.
Rondeau refrains (non-isorhythmic)	1	36*.
Rondeau refrains (isorhythmic)	2	59*, 60*.
Virelais	12 (1 twice)	4*, 5*, 7*, 10*, 13 (= 81)*, 25, 81 (= 13)*, 89*, 90, 91, 97*, 100.

The species of the manuscript's contents have roughly determined the order of the pieces, as stated above. Although there is a sprinkling of two-part works among those à 3, only one four-part work is out of its correct place. This can be accounted for by the fact that the triplum is an addition to an originally three-part work. There are seven three-part works in the section devoted mainly to four-part ones. Rondeaux and Virelais are sprinkled somewhat indiscriminately among the Ballades. Motets, however, placed significantly at the end of the manuscript, are mostly older works grouped quite apart from the Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais. Latin motets, 10 in number, are with one exception followed by French, of which there are 3. Isorhythm is here at its peak, and is a natural feature of every motet. A new fashion is the isorhythmic Rondeau and Rondeau refrain [13]. These works are divided into two halves identical rhythmically. However, in spite of Machaut's isorhythmic Ballade, there are no works of this kind in *Ch,* and so Machaut's attempt may be considered an isolated experiment.

The presence of numerous four-part works in our manuscript has already been mentioned. Indeed this is such an important feature of *Ch* that a whole fascicle has been primarily devoted to four-part works in cantilena form. Most of the motets too are à 4, only four out of thirteen being à 3. This is striking testimony to the striving after full sonorities which prevailed in the circle where the works of *Ch* were meant to be performed.

The arrangement of the manuscipt, moreover, has more significance than may appear at first sight. The different forms and groups of works are arranged in order of importance: first the large group of Ballades à 3 with the less important Rondeaux and Virelais and odd two-part works scattered among them, then the important but smaller group of four-part works in cantilena form, then the motets (not so much in favour at this period), first the big group of four-part pieces, and finally, least important, the three-part ones.

COMPOSERS

Fortunately many of the cantilena works in *Ch* give the names of their composers, many of whom are known by this manuscript alone. The motets continue the old habit of anonymity, except for two works which are out-and-out lists of musicians' names. In one of these the composer is certainly J. Alani (no. 111), and in the other he may be J. de Porta (no. 108). Alanus, to use the nominative form of the name, is

[13] I call those works Rondeau refrains in which only the text of the refrain lines is given. This affects the musical form in so much as the piece is through-composed. The polyphonic Rondeau refrain is a novelty in *Ch,* but by the time of Dufay it has attained a popularity as great if not greater than that of the full-length Rondeau.

evidently an Englishman, for he lists in the text of his motet a group of English musicians. There are three sources from which we can learn a few biographical details about him, and one is continental. He is no doubt the Jean Alain who was in the service of the Duke of Lancaster in 1396 [14], and the John Aleyn, piper, who followed the Earl of Derby to Europe in 1392, returning to England in September of the same year [15]. He can again be traced, if indeed this is the same man, as a minor canon at St. Pauls Cathedral in London in the year 1421. He died in 1437 [16].

A number of compositions also give the author of the text who is in many cases identical with the composer of the music. In respect to no. 68 I must agree with W. Apel in his attribution of the piece to Jacques Senleches. Not only does the composer's name follow the second line of text but he is given as the composer of the music in *Mod.* Again this piece greatly resembles no. 67, also by Senleches if we are to trust the later hand. Hence the name Galiot at the head of no. 68 is an error.

Of the 35 composers listed in Table 2, the names of 33 are to be found in the codex itself and 2 are obtainable through concordances (Egidius de Pusiex, Philippus Royllart). The list contains many names not to be found elsewhere: Jo. de Alte Curie, F. Andrieu, Borlet, Mag(iste)r Franciscus, P. Fabri, Jo. Galiot, Goscalch, Jo. de Meruco, Jo. Olivier, Pykini, Solage, Trebor, S. Uciredor. Most are represented by one work only, though Solage and Trebor are leading composers in *Ch* with 10 and 6 works respectively. Jo. de Alte Curie was a member of the Papal choir in 1394 but was not identical with Jo. Simonis de Haspre, who was also in the Papal choir at Avignon in that year [17]. Occasionally however a composer does have two different names. Jacomi is doubtless Jacob Senleches, and Matheus de Sancto Johanne is certainly Mayhuet de Joan, also known from *Iv* and *OH*. Pykini must come from the place of that name in Picardy, also mentioned earlier in the fourteenth century in the

[14] L. Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne,* III, Paris, 1852, 123.

[15] Not 1391, as printed in my article *John Dunstable and Late Medieval Music in England,* in *The Score* V (1953), 27. The reference is taken from *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry, Earl of Derby (afterwards King Henry IV) in 1390-1 and 1392-3,* ed. Lucy Toulmin-Smith, London, 1894, XCVI-XCVII, 262, 271.

[16] M. Bukofzer, *The Music of the Old Hall Manuscript-II,* in *The Musical Quarterly* XXXV (1949), 56; reprinted in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music,* New York, 1950, 77.

[17] F. X. Haberl, *Die römische „schola cantorum" und die päpstliche Kapellsänger bis zur Mittel des 16. Jahrhunderts,* in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* III (1887), 213, n. 2. Offprint as Vol. III of *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte,* Leipzig, 1887, 25, n. 2.

TABLE 2

Composer	No. of works	Number in *Ch*
Alani, J.	1	111.
Alte Curie, Jo. de	1	8*.
Andrieu, F.	1	84*.
Borlet	1	89*.
Cesaris, Johannes	1T	73*.
Cordier, M(agister) Baude	2	1*, 2*.
Cunelier, Jo.	3 + 1T	55*, 61*, 63*, 72*.
Egidius Aug(ustin)us, Magister	1	21*.
Franciscus, Mag(iste)r	2	16, 18.
Fabri, P.	1 Triplum	10*.
Galiot, Jo.	4	45 (Philippot?), 53*, 59*, 68 (Jacopinus Selesses?).
Garinus	1	51.
Goscalch	1	58*.
Grimace	3	15, 86*, 91.
Guido	2 + 1T	27*, 28*, 29*.
Haspre, Jo. Simonis de = Hasprois	2	46, 47*.
Henricus — Egidius de Pusiex	1	102.
Machaut	3	14, 78, 88.
Matheus de Sancto Johanne = Mayhuet de Joan	5	9*, 48, 62, 94*, 99.
Meruco, Jo. de	1	83*.
Molins, P. des	1	87.
Olivier, Jo.	1	41*.
Philippot de Caserta	5	42, 54, 56*, 57, 71.
Pykini	1	90.
Reyneau, Gacian	1	93*.
Royllart, Philippus	1	106.
Salinis, Hymbert de	1	72*.
Senleches, Jacob (= Jacomi?)	3	11, 67*, 69*.
Solage	10	13 (= 81)*, 17*, 24*, 50*, 79*, 80*, 81 (= 13)*, 95*, 96, 97*, 98*.
Suzoy = Jo. Susay	3	39*, 49*, 85*.
Taillandier	1	65*.
Trebor	6	19*, 20*, 38*, 40*, 64*, 66*.
Uciredor, S. (= Rodericus?)	1	77*.
Vaillant, Jo.	5	12*, 30*, 31*, 32*, 100.

sottes chansons and motets of the *Roman de Fauvel.* To these names must be added those of the musicians mentioned in the motet no. 108. This seems to have been composed in imitation of no. 111 with its list of English

musicians, known from the time of de Coussemaker [18]. The musicians of no. 108 include *Augustini de Florentia,* another reference to the Augustinians in music to which we may add the name of Magister Egidius Aug(ustin)us, composer of no. 21 and identical with the composer of the same name in *Mod* [19]. A certain Egidius de Aurolia is also mentioned in no. 108. More important is the reference to J. de Porta, as already mentioned probably the composer of the motet, and to Petrus de Sancto Dionysio, here a composer, who is known as the author of a treatise to be found in the fifteenth century Italian ms Washington, Library of Congress, ML. 171. J. 6 [20]. This tract has a familiar ring, opening as it does with the famous words *Musica est scientia bene modulandi.* It was copied, together with treatises by Egidius de Murino (!), Jo. de Garlandia, Jo. de Anglia (!) and others between 1465 and 1477. This theoretician may be identical with the Dionysius mentioned in two well-known fourteenth century motets *Musicalis scientia* and *Apollinis eclipsatur.* Motet 108 mentions further, — it seems to concern Augustinians alone — Johannes Foreastarii, Nicholao Biohomni, Camena (= muse), J. Strutevilla, Johannes Desiderii, (known from ms Seville, Bibl. Colombina 5-2-25 as the author two treatises), Teodaldus, Taxinus de Parisius, Ydrolanus (a Cypriot), Guillermus Cavalerii, Girardus de Colonia, Clemente de Berria, Petrus Amatori, Gratro, Galterio de Gardino, Jeronimus de Parisius. Most of these men are purely singers, though some are designated *professores teorici.* The last three men in the list are named as tenors (proof of vocal performance?). All 20 are *in neuma doctissimos,* as they must be if they have to read the complicated notation of *Ch.* Other references are unfortunately ambiguous, though the choir is a large one for the period. The English motet, unlike the Franco-Italian work, succeeded in remaining in the repertory of the Dufay period (it occurs twice in *BL*), a testimony to the popularity of English compositions at this time [21].

It is now time to study the lives of the composers of *Ch* in somewhat greater detail, where this is possible. Unfortunately we are plagued in many cases by an insufficiency of information but in others by a surfeit of it. The first two composers on our list have already been mentioned. The third, F. Andrieu, is unknown apart from his one composition in *Ch* on

[18] Bukofzer mentions that Richard Blithe, one of the musicians named in this motet, was a clerk of the Chapel Royal in 1419, *loc. cit.*

[19] Further to the problem of the Egidius', see my article *Egidius de Murino,* in MGG III, Sp. 1169-1172.

[20] See S. de Ricci and W. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts,* I, New York, 1935, 245.

[21] For the list of musicians contained in the text of this motet, see C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *Les Harmonistes du XIVe siècle,* Paris, 1869, 14 f; and H. Davey, *History of English Music,* 2nd ed., London, 1921, 55-56.

the death of Machaut. This work alone, however, makes him of considerable interest. He is in this case at least a pure musician, since his text is by Eustache Deschamps. His style here closely approaches that of Machaut, understandable as this is in the circumstances. The style of Magister Franciscus, however, comes even closer to that of Machaut if possible, which suggests that his two pieces are earlier than the Ballade by Andrieu. If Machaut died in 1377, this is certainly true, since I have proved elsewhere that the two evidently popular compositions of Magister Franciscus were written between 1370 and 1376 [22]. It would not be impossible for Magister Franciscus and F. Andrieu to be one and the same person, since the initial F. almost certainly signifies François or Franciscus.

Of Borlet we know nothing. His one Virelai is a typical work of its kind, but bearing in mind that *Ch* has many connections with the southwest corner of France, we shall not attribute this work to the North as we might if we considered only the Picard influences evident in many of these socalled *realistic* Virelais. One good reason for this decision is the use of the folksong in the tenor. *Roussignolet du bois* is a wellknown folk-song, and this melody is certainly the oldest which can be associated with the song. The important thing here, however, is the „u" in „Roussignolet", which clearly demonstrates that this piece comes from Bearn, the country of Gaston Phebus. To confirm our opinion that *Hé, tres doulz roussignol joly* was written for the realm of Foix & Aragon comes the unravelling of the anagram Borlet as Trebol. This composer was in the service of Martin I of Aragon in 1409 [23], and there was constant interchange of minstrels between Barcelona and Foix, as we shall see later.

Johannes Cesaris is better known than Trebol and Andrieu, but only the tenor of one piece can be attributed to him in *Ch*. It seems likely, however, that the whole piece is by him. We know him best from Martin le Franc's poem *Le Champion des dames,* where it is said that, together with Carmen and Tapissier, he startled all Paris just prior to the advent of Dufay and Binchois. The only biographical reference we have is dated 1417. It appears that in that year Cesaris received an organ from the Queen of Sicily, Yolande d'Aragon, for the Cathedral at Angers [24]. Cesaris must have been quite young when he composed the Ballade in *Ch*, for most of his music is to be found in the ms *O,* whose earliest fascicles contain compositions mainly datable in the first and second decades of the fifteenth century.

[22] Article *Franciscus, Magister* in MGG III (1954).

[23] H. Anglès, *Gacien Reyneau am Königshof zu Barcelona in der Zeit von 139... bis 1429,* in *Festschrift für Guido Adler,* 1930, 70.

[24] A. Pirro, *La Musique à Paris sous le règne de Charles VI (1380-1422)*, Strasbourg, 1930, 29.

Baude Cordier belongs to the generation of Cesaris, Carmen and Tapissier [25]. His works too are mainly to be found in *O,* and we know that the two compositions by him which now open *Ch* are later additions. Besseler is tempted to date *Belle, bonne, sage* as late as 1410-1420 on account of its pronounced *tempus perfectum diminutum* mensuration [26]. However that may be, it is certain that Cordier flourished in the early fifteenth century. Stylistic considerations alone prove that, for Cordier's style hovers between the complicated rhythms of the late Ars Nova on the one hand and the simple, unified rhythms of the coming Dufay style on the other. And the styles are never mixed. However, it would be unwise to attempt a chronological arrangement of his works according to the degree in which these opposing principles are to be found, as has been done [27]. Unfortunately, not one detail of Cordier's life is to be found in the usual way. However, one of his Rondeaux, *Ch* 2, gives us some useful clues; he is famous from Reims to Rome [28]. No doubt he was also known at Avignon, since the sole remaining item of his church music occurs in the Apt ms, Trésor de la Basilique Ste.-Anne 16 bis (though his name is absent in this source). Nothing more is known of him, but his music has great charm. His output of 11 works is small but none the worse for that. Few composers of this period have left as many pieces. Even Cesaris' output is large with 9 compositions.

Jo. Cunelier is probably identical with the Jacquemart le Cuvelier mentioned by the anonymous author of a treatise of second rhetoric [29]. He came from Tournay, and was *faiseur de Charles V* [30]. He may also be the Jean Cuvelier who wrote one of the last great epic poems of the Middle Ages, the *Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin* [31]. He is certainly connected with the court of Gaston Phébus of Foix, since one of his Ballades, no. 55, pays homage to Phébus with the words *Fébus avant* on long-held chords. Cuvelier's other two Ballades are also in the same vein, and although they lack direct references to Phébus, they may well have been sung at his court. The works of Cuvelier belong to the advanced style of *Ch,* and can all therefore be dated in the 1380 s.

Magister Egidius Augustinus is represented in *Ch* by only one composition, but his presence is not without significance, considering his connections with Avignon, made clear by his three-part Ballade *Courtois et*

[25] My edition of the complete works of these four composers will shortly be published by the AIM.

[26] Article *Cordier* in MGG II, Sp. 1666. [27] Dannemann, 53.

[28] The text is printed in Riemann, I, 2, 1905, 351; H. Besseler, article *Cordier,* MGG II, Sp. 1665; Aubry, Pl. 22.

[29] *Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique,* ed. E. Langlois, Paris, 1903, 13.

[30] A. Pirro, *La Musique à Paris* etc., 9. [31] ed. E. Charrière, 1839.

Sages [32]. This work names the Pope Clement VII in an acrostic. It is one of two Ballades by Egidius to be found in *Mod,* the other being in praise of the French. In *Mod* he is definitely named as a member of the *Ordo Heremitarum Sancti Agustini.* Elsewhere I have suggested that this Egidius is probably identical with Egidius de Murino, author of the principle treatise of late Ars Nova notation: the *Tractatus de diversis figuris* [33]. To this possibility is added another, namely that the Egidius of *Mod* and *Ch* is identical with the Egidius of the Squarcialupi ms, Florence, Bibl. Laur., Pal. 87 (*FL*). This possibility was hinted at in my previous article, but the stylistic differences between the Italian and French pieces tended to veil the identity of their authors. Admittedly the Egidius of *FL* works in collaboration with a certain Guilielmus de Francia, but he must be the same as the Egidius of *Ch* and *Mod* for the following reasons. Elsewhere Guilelmus is named as *di santo spirito* and as *Magister Guglielmus Pariginus fr(ater) romitanus (heremitanus)* [34]. If he is an Augustinian, his colleague Egidius is likely to be an Augustinian too, and this assumption is confirmed by the portraits in *FL* f. 17, where both men are dressed as Augustinians. The Egidius of *Ch* and *Mod* is certainly an Augustinian. Hence both Egidius are in all probability identical. The connections between *Ch* and Florence which are becoming clearer suggest only one Santo Spirito — precisely that one at Florence which belonged to the Augustinians [35]. If that is the case, there seems to be no reason for doubting that the Egidius of the Florentine Trecento belongs there as well as the Egidius of *Ch,* in which manuscript we meet nothing less than an enumeration of *Augustini de Florentia.* Florence was indeed the one place which seemed unlikely as a centre for the performance of late Ars Nova music, since the Trecento art was so firmly rooted there, but it should not pass unnoticed that even the central ms *FP* contains music copied undoubtedly from *Ch.*

Of P. Fabri we know nothing unless he is identical with the *Petrus Fabri de Rommeeshoven. Clerico Leodien. Dioc.,* who was *Campanarius* at the Papal Chapel in 1431 [36]. Galiot too is otherwise unknown though his name may well be a pseudonym. Two works attributed to him in *Ch* occur in *Mod* with different attributions, and each of these two works is there attributed to different composers. We have already suggested that

[32] ApelL, no. 57. [33] Article *Egidius de Murino* in MGG III, Sp. 1169-1172.

[34] Cf. O. Gombosi, review of ApelL in *Musical Quarterly* XXXVI (1950), 604; and N. Pirrotta, *Il codice Estense* etc., 129, n. 3.

[35] See F. Ludwig in Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* I, Leipzig, 2nd ed., 1930, 208.

[36] F. X. Haberl, *Wilhelm du Fay,* in *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft* I (1885), 515; *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte* I, 119.

Ch 68 is by Senleches, but the attribution of *Ch* 45 to Philip of Caserta in *Mod* is rather surprising. Evidently Galiot was not known in Italy, as indeed the absence of his name outside *Ch* suggests.

Garinus is known from the two motets *Musicalis Scientia* and *Apollinis eclipsatur* already mentioned, in the first of which he is said to be from Soissons. Unfortunately his sole extant work is *Ch* 51, an isorhythmic Rondeau. Goscalch, a rather German-sounding name, occurs nowhere outside *Ch* and is probably an anagram (of Ch. Solage?). His one Ballade deals with a subject often mentioned in *Ch,* namely *barat,* which seems to mean deceit and trickery. The style of the composition has nothing to suggest a German origin.

Grimace is represented by three compositions in *Ch* and elsewhere by two further works, in Berne, Bibliothèque de la ville A 421 (471) by *Dedens mon cuer est pourtrait un ymage* (Cantus and beginning of tenor only), and in *Str* no. 35 by a three-part Ballade *Je voy envis de ma dame* [37]. If, as has been suggested, Grimace was a contemporary of Machaut [38], his style is nevertheless rather more advanced than Machaut's in the works from *Ch.*

Guido is another unknown, though his notation suggests definite Italian influences, particularly in the use of the figures and . Nevertheless the texts of his works are quite French, and all are important for what they have to tell us. No. 27 with its text *Dieu gart qui bien le chantera* is obviously a test-piece for the student of sight-singing in the fourteenth century, and no. 28 refers to the notational artifices which now abound and which Philip qui *mais ne dure* (evidently Philippe de Vitry, who died in 1351) would not have approved. Guido speaks as though the new fashion (*la nouvelle figure*) displeases him, yet all the time he writes music which conforms to these new canons, even though *c'est trestout en contraire de bon art.* The only other Guido we know from this period is Guido Pictavensis, mentioned by de Coussemaker in his catalogue of *Str* as the composer of *Inde Henrico dimicat.* M. van den Borren has kindly checked de Coussemaker's copy of *Str,* but can find no trace of the piece, which de Coussemaker must have overlooked when making his copy. However, a composer of Poitiers would not be out of place in a manuscript like *Ch* which contains pieces mainly concerned with the south-west of France, and so we may take it that Guido Pictavensis is identical with the Guido of *Ch.* The incipit of the lost work by Guido Pictavensis may refer to the composer Henricus, who is known not only from motet no. 102, but from

[37] I have to thank M. van den Borren for kindly sending me a copy of this piece.
[38] G. de Van, *La Pédagogie musicale* etc., 84.

the musician motet *Apollinis eclipsatur* and a work in ms *PR* [39]. His full name is given in *Apollinis eclipsatur* as Henricus Helene.

Hasprois has aleady been mentioned. A further biographical detail is given by Pirro, who mentions a payment made to Jehan Simon, one of the five musicians who served Charles V during the last months of his life [40]. This can surely be none other than Jehan Simon de Haspre, known generally as Hasprois. Fortunately we know the exact date of the payment, the 6th March, 1380. Later, in 1394, we find him in the Papal choir. It seems most likely that the two Ballades of *Ch* should be dated around the year 1380 when Hasprois was with Charles V, for it is doubtless from his minstrels that the musicians of Foix and Aragon learnt to know them. A Ballade from *O* and a Rondeau from *BL* may be tentatively dated about the same time, since they are stylistically very similar to the two works in *Ch*. The text of Hasprois' Ballade *Ch* 47 is concerned with the society of *fumeux* of which Eustache Deschamps had been *emperor* in his youth under the name Jean Fumée [41]. (Another work in *Ch, Fumeux fume* no. 98 by Solage, belongs here too). We shall not try to draw any conclusions as to chronology from these works, but it is interesting to note the words which follow the last line of text in Hasprois' *Puisque je sui fumeux,* namely *Jo simon de haspre composuit dictum. Ja. de Noyon.* There is no need to alter the text here to read: *Jo simon de haspre. composuit dictum Ja. de Noyon* [42]. The sentence is merely a comment registered by Ja(cobus) de Noyon, who may thus have had a hand in assembling the original ms of which *Ch* is a copy. We know in any case that Jaquet de Noyo was a minstrel of John I of Aragon, hence not merely a poet but a musician too [43].

Earlier than most of the compositions in *Ch,* those of Guillaume de Machaut already belong to a past tradition. Of the three well-known Ballades included only one bears the composer's name, and even that does not give his Christian name. The choice of two four-part works reveals again the taste for full sonorities that prevails in this manuscript.

Matheus de Sancto Johanne, or Mayhuet de Joan as he is called in French, leads definitely to Avignon, for one of his works, no. 62, a Latin Ballade, pays homage to Pope Clement VII. Moreover he is represented in *Iv,* a slightly earlier manuscript than *Ch,* with a repertoire which was

[39] Facsimile and transcription in WolfG II/III, no. 57a. The piece is a two-part Italian Madrigal, *Il capo biondo.* [40] *La Musique à Paris,* 2. [41] Ibid, 23.

[42] As in WolfG I, 333; and Besseler, article *Chantilly, Ms. 1047* in MGG II, Sp. 1088.

[43] J. Maria Roca, *Johan I d'Aragó,* Barcelona, 1929, 396; quoted in A. Pagès, *La Poésie française en Catalogne du XIIIe siècle à la fin du XIVe,* Toulouse and Paris, 1936, 53.

undoubtedly used at Avignon. He is also the only French composer named in the Old Hall manuscript, which contains two works by him. The first bears his name, the second does not, but it is undoubtedly by the same composer as the first work. Both are isorhythmic motets and occur at the very end of the Old Hall ms. Unfortunately the last piece, *Post missarum solemnia,* is incomplete, but it is interesting to find a different piece with the same text in *Iv,* which we have already connected with Matheus. Matheus is one of the principal composers in *Ch* with 5 works, one of which already occurs in *Iv,* but it is not certain that he has direct connections with Foix and Aragon. The name Mathieu is common, though John I of Aragon certainly had a Mateu among his singers [44]. The duke of Orleans had a Mathieu among *his* singers in 1389 [45], and we also know of a Matheus de Lucca from the motet *Musicalis scientia.* It would be difficult however to identify Matheus de Sancto Johanne with anyone but the Mateu of John I of Aragon. It is strange that the name of this composer is written in Latin at the head of his French pieces and in French at the head of the Latin ones.

Jo. de Meruco is unknown apart from the one piece attributed to him in *Ch.* P. des Molins enjoyed a greater reputation, for his two known works are among the most frequently copied compositions of the late fourteenth century. His *Amis tout dous vis* became popular in a decorated version known as *Di molen van Pariis* [46]. Although this title represented nothing more than the name of the composer, whom we may therefore consider a Parisian, it was taken to mean *The Mill of Paris,* and the famous Italian poem *Il Sollazzo* mentions its *dolce botti,* obviously the sounds of the mill working [47]. Thus through a mistake we have one of the earliest examples of realistic imitation outside the *chace.* Anglès says this composer too was a musician of the house of Barcelona [48].

Jo. Olivier is unknown outside *Ch,* though Apel ingeniously identifies him with the Olivet mentioned by the anonymous author of the treatise of second rhetoric [49]. This is a plausible supposition, though it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the copyist of *Ch* made a mistake over the name Cunelier and read it as Olivier.

[44] A. Pagès, *Ibid,* 30. [45] *Ibid,* note 3.

[46] ApelL, 4b and 24a, note 27; A. Pirro, *Histoire de la Musique de la fin du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVIe,* Paris, 1940, 40; Ch. van den Borren, *Le Manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la bibliothèque de Strasbourg,* Antwerp, 1924, 69.

[47] S. Debenedetti, *Il „Sollazzo" e il „Saporetto" con altre rime di Simone Prudenzani d'Orvieto (Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, Suppl. No. 15),* Turin, 1913, 109, Sonnet 32.

[48] *La Musica en la Corte del Rey Don Alfonso V de Aragón (1413-20),* in *Spanische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft,* I. Reihe, Bd. 8 (1939), 349.

[49] ApelL, 17b and Langlois, *Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique,* 14.

Philip of Caserta was once thought to be the author of the *Tractatus de diversis figuris* [50], but this attribution cannot be maintained since only one manuscript of the work bears his name. Undoubtedly the treatise is by Egidius de Murino, whose name it bears in four manuscripts and possibly five manuscripts [51]. Philip thus becomes a far more shadowy figure than was previously thought, though the ms Seville, Bibli. Colombina 5-2-25 contains a *Regule Contrapuncti secundum magistrum Philippum de Caserta.* Of the five works attributed to him in *Ch,* three are also to be found in *Mod.* The fourth work which bears his name in *Mod* is attributed to Galiot

[50] CS III, 118-124.

[51] See further article *Egidius de Murino* in MGG III, Sp. 1169-70. This evident mistake on the part of de Coussemaker is not by any means the only one of its kind. We reach the heights of absurdity in the case of Johannes de Tewkesbury, to whom he attributes a treatise from the Oxford ms, Bodl. Libr. Digby 17, f. 91 (CS IV, xiv). In fact the treatise was never printed, but Coussemaker's attribution has no foundation whatsoever. His conviction, however, was so great that he even wrote the name Johannes de Tewkesbury in pencil at the beginning of the Oxford manuscript. Again his attribution of the *Quatuor Principalia Musicae* (CS IV, 200-298; and as Anon. I, CS III, 334-364) to Simon Tunstede has always been suspect. In no manuscript is the treatise attributed to Tunstede, though a colophon in one ms (in a new hand!) mentions that the treatise was written in 1351 when Simon Tunstede, *doctor sacre theologie qui in musica pollebat etiam in septem artibus liberalibus,* was head of the minor friars at Oxford. The fact that the treatise could not have been written as early as 1351, however, is evident from the references to developments in musical notation which belong to the seventh and eighth decades of the fourteenth century. Moreover, this theoretical work is manifestly a compilation, and was not written by one man alone (as the copyist's reference to *auctorum,* not *auctoris* as de Coussemaker, makes clear). I shall deal with all these points in full in my new edition, which will also include the treatise of Lambertus (CS I, 251-281), a direct source for the early parts of the *Quatuor Principalia.* Here again Coussemaker made a mistake in attributing the work of Lambertus to *Cuiusdam Aristotelis,* though here he was less to blame for the same mistake had already been made in the fourteenth century by no less a person then Jacobus, the author of the *Speculum Musicae* (Bks. VI and VII, CS II, 193-433; Bk. 1, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* of the AIM, 1954). In fact, neither manuscript of Lambertus' treatise gives the name of the author, but one of them, Paris, B.N. lat. 6755, contains as its first item an entirely independent work by a certain Aristotle. This is where Jacobus made his mistake, for he thought both this and the following work were by the same author, but there is no connection between them whatsoever. The first item is in fact the famous *Secreta Secretorum,* known from numerous manuscripts which always give the author's name: *Cuiusdam Aristotelis.* The proof that Jacobus did think this way, and in fact probably used the manuscript in question, is to be found in his words: *Quidam qui Aristotiles in titulo libri sui nominatur* (W. Grossmann, *Die einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum musice,* Leipzig, 1924, 67). As for the name Lambertus, it is vouched for both by Johannes de Grocheo and the Sowa Anonymous (H. Sowa, *Ein anonymer glossierter Mensuraltraktat 1279,* Kassel, 1930, xvii; J. Wolf, *Die Musiklehre des Johannes de Grocheo,* in SIMG I (1899), 102).

in *Ch,* which is probably correct. This leaves two more works in *Ch,* one of which has been copied later in *P.* Most of these pieces are without even veiled hints as to their origin, but no. 54, *Par le grant senz d'Adriane la sage,* seems to refer to some incident in the life of Gaston Phébus. The names are of course hidden and their places taken by mythological ones. Theseus seems to be some enemy of *le lis* (possibly Phébus), who displays the customary courage in coming to the aid of a lady, *Adriane la sage.* This fits in well with Phébus, who was only too willing to help the ladies if they needed help or if he thought they needed help, provided they were of course financially or territorially worth helping (the poem mentions that Adriane has a *jouel de grant pris*). Provisionally then we shall connect Philip of Caserta with Gaston Phébus. His work certainly seems to have been done on this side af the Alps rather than in Italy.

Gacien Reyneau of Tours is one of the composers about whose life Anglès has discovered a great deal [52]. Suffice it to say here that he was a member of the royal chapel at Barcelona from 1398 to 1429, and he may well have been there before the first date given. This may account for the fact that only one of his works is to be found in *Ch,* a manuscript which has more connections with Gaston Phébus than with John I of Aragon.

Philippus Royllart, the composer of no. 106, is known only from the ms *Str,* and nothing is known of his life, though we may assume that he was one of the musicians of Charles V, to whom his motet is addressed. Hymbert or Hubert de Salinis is another composer of whom we know little. The Ballade attributed to him in *Ch* praises Olivier du Guesclin, and it is significant that the tenor is by Jo. Cuvelier, whom we already know as the probable author of the Chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin [53]. However, Salinis is best known for his liturgical and para-liturgical compositions, which appear above all in *BL.* Three of these are motets, four are polyphonic mass movements and one is a troped antiphon. In spite of the lack of information in the Papal Archives, we must assume that Salinis belonged at some time to the Papal choir, though at first he seems to have been a minstrel, judging from the early Ballade in *Ch.* We have already noticed that John Aleyn started out as a piper and later apparently became a minor canon of St. Pauls [54].

Of Jacob de Senleches (= Jacomi) we have perhaps too much knowledge, though what we know is most interesting. The archives at Barcelona

[52] *Gacien Reyneau am Königshof zu Barcelona,* in *Festschrift für Guido Adler,* 1930, 64-70.

[53] P. 68.

[54] P. 64. One of the *Et in terra* movements by Salinis (BL 54) can be dated 1417, since it bears a trope celebrating the end of the schism on the election of Martin V as Pope at the Council of Constance (Dannemann, 84).

have proved very valuable in this case, and men like J. Maria Roca, A. Pagès and H. Anglès have been most diligent in studying the documentary evidence at their disposal [55]. Unfortunately there were not one but two men named Jacomi among the minstrels of John I of Aragon. One of these was called *Capeta* and the other *lo Bègue* (the stutterer). It seems, however, that we can dispose of the second Jacomi, since he was one of the minstrels dismissed in 1379 after the arrival of the new singers from Avignon. The other Jacomi would then be the composer and also the famous player on shawm and bagpipe who is so much praised by John I [56]. Unfortunately, the only definite reference to Jacomi *de Sentluch* occurs in 1378, when both Jacomis were at Barcelona. One of these men went to the schools of minstrelsy at Bruges in that year together with Johannes Estrumant, Jaquet de Noyon and another. It is hardly likely that this was Jacomi lo Bègue but the famous bagpiper whose performance was second only to that of Estrumant. It is indeed Jacomi Capeta who is so hard put to it to retain his place at the court of Barcelona that in the end he threatens to return to France. Only this could be the man who wrote the Ballade *Fuions de ci, Ch* 11, bewailing his fate and that of his *povre compaigne* on the death of Eleanor of Aragon, the wife of John I of Castile. Or could it, since Jacomi lo Bègue had served John of Castile as well as John of Aragon, which cannot be said of Jacomi Capeta, though this latter was more famous, and indeed we know he remained at Barcelona first with John I and then with Martin I of Aragon till 1404? Perhaps we shall never be able to answer this question, but at least we have documentary evidence that Jacques de Senleches = Jacomi de Sentluch served John I of Aragon in 1378, and evidently he was still in Spain in 1382, the date of the death of Eleanor of Aragon, whom he laments. The name Senleches is obviously a corruption of Sentluch (or St. Luke), which the scribe of *Ch* has transformed to Senlechos on one occasion. This seems to me another indication of Spanish influence. The Italian ms *Mod* goes still further in deforming the name to Jacopinus Selesses. Here the christian name is completely italianised, and the surname is practically unrecognisable [57]. Senleches is represented by 3 (or 4) works in *Ch,* but 2 others are to be found in *Mod,* both Virelais. There are no Virelais by Senleches in *Ch,* but in his bitextual

[55] J. Maria Roca, *Johan I d'Aragó,* Barcelona, 1929, 335 ff.; A. Pagès, *La Poésie française en Catalogne,* etc., 29, 30, 58, 59; H. Anglès, *El músic Jacomí al servei de Joan I. i Marti I. durant el anys 1372-1404,* in *Homenatge a A. Rubió i Lluch,* Barcelona, 1936, 613-625, and separate.

[56] Anglès, *El músic Jacomí,* 615, 616, 620, 624. Pagès, 29, mentions the following as having served John I of Aragon: Jacme Brunell, Jacobus de Troyes, Jacobus Huguet, Jacomi de Sentluch, Jaquet de Noyo and Jacquet Riquier.

[57] It may not be otiose to point out the consistency with which the christian

Ballade *Ch* 69 he refers to the fact that he used to compose such works in the past:

> J'ai plusieurs fois pour mon esbatement,
> ou temps passé, heü playsir de faire
> un virelay de petit sentement
> ou un rondel qui a moy puist playre.

If we are to take this literally, the Virelais in *Mod* were written before the Ballades in *Ch,* and certainly the latter are the more complex works notationally and rhythmically.

Solage, represented by as many as 10 works in *Ch,* but nowhere else except in *FP* as an addition obviously copied from *Ch,* as yet has no biography. He did not belong to the court of John I of Aragon before or after this great music lover became king, and yet he is the principal composer of *Ch.* Here then in all probability we have one of Gaston Phébus' minstrels, albeit one who followed the well-worn path of the Machaut tradition rather than that of the new experimentalists. Unfortunately, the texts of his works are mostly without value from a biographical point of view, and those which do yield any information have to be considered very circumspectly. Two Ballades, *Ch* 24 and 80, belong together, for both have the same acrostic: *Cathelline la royne d'amours* [58]. A third, *Ch* 50, glorifies Jean, duke of Berry, like Phébus a great patron of the arts. One is tempted to suggest after this that Solage was a minstrel of the duke of Berry, but no doubt *Ch* 50 was written in honour of the marriage between Jupiter (the duke of Berry) and Jeanne de Boulogne, a marriage in which Gaston Phébus had considerable interest since he was well paid for it. This wedding is mentioned more than once in *Ch.* It took place near Avignon with great pomp, costing the Pope himself 20,000 francs [59]. The references to Jupiter and *Engaddi la precieuse vigne* in *Ch* 19 and 21 now become clear. Jupiter was without any doubt the Duke of Berry in *Ch* 50, and the same is apparently true of *Ch* 19 and 21. Moreover, *Ch* 21 was written before the wedding and *Ch* 19 after. The reference to Margarite, which Apel takes to be literal [60], is of course as conventionally allegorical as that to Jupiter. We are now in the happy position of being able to date these two works fairly precisely, one before the 25th May 1389, the other after. Admittedly there is still an element of hypothesis in our identification,

names of musicians from the 12th to the 15th century are to be found in the diminutive form, from Leoninus to Gilet Velut and Perinetus Fontaine.

[58] Il would be unwise to identify this Cathelline with any particular lady of the same name, though we must not omit to mention that Catherine, daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, married Henry, heir to the throne of Castile in 1388 (cf. *Cambridge Medieval History* V, Cambridge, 1932, 580).

[59] F. S. Shears, *Froissart, Chronicler and Poet,* London, 1930, 55.

[60] ApelL, 23, n. 15.

but in a manuscript which has so many connections with Gaston Phébus we must admit that the wedding of Jupiter has some connection with him or with John of Aragon. The wedding, however, is certainly not that of Gaston or of John I. The date 1389, moreover, is precisely that of the Ballade *Ch* 20, which glorifies the expedition of John I of Aragon to Sardinia. It can hardly be coincidental that three Ballades datable in the year 1389, two on the wedding of John, duke of Berry, and one on the Sardinian expedition, are placed together as *Ch* 19-21. It seems likely that the works of Solage on John, duke of Berry and on Jeanne de Boulogne (*Ch* 50; 24 and 80) were written in this year too when Gaston Phébus was fêteing his noble guest. Certainly the second poem on Jeanne de Boulogne mentions the wedding as a *fait accompli*. This dating seems to clash with the style of Solage's works, but no doubt it would be a mistake to assume that every composer writing in the 1380 s was as advanced as Senleches, who indeed seems to have had a special interest in notational problems. Notationally Solage is in fact one of the most conservative writers, but his skilful dissonance technique and his insight into the requirements of form prove him to have been no novice but a real master of fourteenth century polyphonic song writing. He was obviously trained according to the methods of Guillaume de Machaut, but lived longer than Machaut, and hence had the opportunity of developing the master's methods further without sacrificing his own individuality. Indeed Machaut never went as far as Solage in the use of extended syncopations and strings of identical rhythmic figures. Solage is conservative in that he uses a Triplum in four-part works, and his Ballades usually have the conventional three-strophe form normalised by Machaut. It is noteworthy that the second and third strophes of *Ch* 80 are omitted, though they are essential for the acrostic already mentioned [61]. The fact that in Italy the French text was of little value may explain such omissions, which are very frequent in *Ch*. It would be useless here to try and give more precise details of Solage's life, since they could only be founded on hypotheses, but I have little doubt that the hitherto untouched archives of Foix would reveal a great deal about this composer and his fellows [62].

Susay or Suzoy is another composer about whom we have practically no information, though he seems to have been connected with the Papal court at Avignon, since he is represented by an *Et in terra* in the Apt manuscript. Pirro mentions a certain Pierre de Suzay who was *clerc de la*

[61] P. 76.

[62] We shall only note here that the reference in *Ch* 79 to the „enemy" also mentioned in *Ch* 18 under the same disguise of a snake, and definitely defined in the last case as an enemy of Phébus, already reveals some contact between Solage and the court of Foix.

chappelle de la reine in 1332 [63]. This may have been the father of our composer, Jo. Susay, one of the men cited by the anonymous author of the treatise of second rhetoric [64]. His secular works are still unpublished, and none of the texts give any indication as to the circle for which they were composed. Nevertheless it may not be sheer coincidence that *Ch* 39 by Suzoy is framed by two works of Trebor addressed to Gaston Phébus. In any case Susay's works belong with those of the advanced composers of *Ch*, in other words to the 1380 s.

With Taillandier (no christian name given in *Ch*) we are up against the usual difficulty of having to decide between two men with the same name. Pagès believes the author of the Ballade *Ch* 65 is Antoni Taillandier (c. 1360-1446), better known at the Aragon court as Mossen Borra, master of the clowns (*el maestro de los albardanes*) [65]. This by no means unintelligent „fool" was in reality a Frenchman. The Apt *Patrem,* also by one Taillandier, is attributed by Pagès to Antoni's son, who was a singer at Barcelona [66]; and certainly this work turns up again in a manuscript from Barcelona, *BarcC*. A Pierre Tailhandier was the author of a *Lectura* on music which is preserved in the Vatican ms, lat. 5129, f. 158-169v.

Trebor, known only by the six compositions in *Ch,* has been identified by Anglès with Trebol, whom we have already identified with the Borlet of *Ch* 89 [67]. It seems unlikely that we should have a correct and an incorrect form of the same name in one manuscript (the „1" is missing in Trebor but not in Borlet), but this is not impossible. A better hypothesis is the usual one whereby Trebor is an inverted form of Robert. But there are few Roberts among fourteenth century musicians, except for Robertus de Palatio mentioned in the invaluable motet *Apollinis eclipsatur*. An identification with Robert of Geneva, Pope Clement VII, is too far-fetched, but our Robert could be the Robert Nyot who was a Papal singer at Avignon in 1394 [68]. Trebor is one of those minstrels who frequented both the courts of Foix and Aragon, for two of his works are addressed to Gaston Phébus (*Ch* 40 and 66) and two to John I of Aragon (*Ch* 20 and 38) [69].

S. Uciredor is obviously another inverted name, this time Rodericus. The composer is known only by the Latin Ballade *Ch* 77. It is one of the most recent and the most complex works in the manuscript. It is in fact

[63] *La musique à Paris,* 9.

[64] Langlois, *Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique,* 14.

[65] *La Poésie française en Catalogne,* 35-37. [66] *Ibid,* 56, n. 2.

[67] P. 67. [68] Cf. N. Pirrotta, *Il codice Estense* etc., 126, n. 1.

[69] ApelL, 2b, maintains that *Ch* 38 is addressed to Charles of Navarre, but this is undoubtedly a mistake. The *roy puissant .... qui porte d'or et de gueules gonfanon* is John I of Aragon. Gaston Phébus too belonged to the house of Aragon and wore these colours, but he was not a king.

the last work in the section comprising cantilena works à 2 and à 3. It seems that this piece is one of the few à 2, and indeed the complexity of the Cantus is such that a third voice would be a hindrance. On the other hand the distance between Cantus and tenor leads one to suspect the absence of a third voice, no doubt a contratenor. The variety of note forms employed in the Cantus reaches extremes unparalleled even in *Ch,* and syncopation produces results which can hardly be transcribed in modern notation. Coloration too is excessive, but particularly noteworthy is the modal transposition. A two-flat signature (E♭ and A♭, B♭ being understood) moves the mode, Ionian, from C to E♭, a unique case at this period, though more frequent is a similar triple transposition of the Dorian to F (with three- or two-flat signature as in the present example). Such modernism makes it very likely that *Ch* 77 was written by the famous *Rodriguet de la guitarra* who belonged to the court of Aragon when Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1401-58) was still uncrowned. This minstrel was sent to the Count of Foix in 1415 [70], and no doubt he was as well received as his predecessors had been at the time of Gaston Phébus.

Jean Vaillant is the composer of the earliest datable work in *Ch,* no. 31, which according to a Latin note at the end of the text was „compiled" at Paris in 1369. Vaillant is well represented in *Ch* with 5 compositions, but none of them seem to connect up with the courts of Foix and Aragon. Indeed, they were probably written before much of the other material in *Ch.* The presence of only one large-scale Ballade by Vaillant is significant in this respect, since such works predominate in the manuscript. The only thing we know about Vaillant's life is that he had a music-school at Paris [71]. It may well be that one of his pupils had the five works represented in *Ch* in his repertoire. Who this pupil was we can only conjecture, but it was in all likelihood one of the men whose names are given in the manuscript. Such a pupil would be in his maturity in the 1380 s if he had been at Vaillant's school in 1369. The text of *Ch* 30: *Pour ce que je ne say gaires // sui je venus pur aprendre* suggests that the piece was intended to be sung by the pupils at Vaillant's school.

CONCORDANCES

The Chantilly codex contains the large number of 77 *unica,* and many of these give their composer's names. The following table shows the distribution of these *unica* among the various species represented in the manuscript.

[70] H. Anglès, *La Musica en la Corte del Rey Don Alfonso* V, 349.
[71] Langlois, *Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique,* 13.

TABLE 3

Species	Total
Ballades	47
Chanson	1
Motets (isorhythmic)	7
Rondeaux (non-isorhythmic)	9
Rondeaux (isorhythmic)	3
Rondeau refrains (non-isorhythmic)	1
Rondeau refrains (isorhythmic)	2
Virelais	7

51 of these works can be attributed to various composers, leaving 26 anonymous pieces. The preceding table 2 gives the distribution of this group among the composers represented in *Ch*. The remaining 36 numbers are already known from other manuscripts. The following table of concordances makes clear the relation between *Ch* and the 17 manuscripts containing or having contained any one of the works copied therein.

TABLE 4

Source	Number of Concordances	Number in *Ch*
BarcC	1	103.
BL	1	111 (twice).
CaB	3	14, 87, 101.
Em	1	100.
FP	8	3, 14, 22, 25, 26, 87, 92, 96.
Iv	4	99, 101, 102, 112.
Mach	3	14, 78, 88.
McV	1	87.
Mod	12	11, 14, 25, 42, 45, 46, 48, 57, 62, 68, 71, 101.
O	2	26, 46.
P	7	14, 15, 16, 23, 51, 54, 87.
Pr	1	14.
PR	10	11, 16, 18, 45, 57, 78, 87, 88, 90, 91.
Str	6	78, 87, 100, 102, 103, 106.
Trem	9	6, 14, 16, 78, 87, 101, 102, 103, 107.
Vienna ms	1	67.
Wolk	1	100.

It will not have escaped the reader's notice that the great majority of these concordances occur in the four Italian mss, *FP, Mod, P* and *PR*. The next largest set of concordances occurs in *Trem,* and four of these are motets, works of lesser importance in *Ch*. The other five pieces are either

works of Machaut himself or of his direct followers. Of the six concordances with *Str,* four are again motets. The other two works are duplicated in *Trem.*

DATE AND ORIGIN OF THE MANUSCRIPT

It is usually assumed that *Ch* is an early fifteenth century Italian copy of a French manuscript compiled during the last decade of the fourteenth century [72]. The reasons for this assumption are as follows. Most of the works in the manuscript are obviously of French origin, since they are written in French and often refer to French noblemen. The notation, however, is Italian, particularly important here being the use of the sixline stave. Moreover, frequent errors in both text and music reveal that the codex is a copy made by a foreign scribe. This scribe must be Italian from his manner of writing and use of the sixline stave [73].

Such deductions, if correct, are not altogether watertight. To begin with, it is commonly enough known that it is impossible to date a manuscript within a decade or two. Hence it is not safe to say that *Ch* was written between 1400-1420 instead of between 1390 and 1400. Again French texts were by no means unknown in Italy in the Middle Ages, though the French language was rapidly giving way to Italian in the fourteenth century. As for notation, the six-line stave is certainly an Italian feature, which was found neither in France nor Spain, but there is nothing Italian about the notation of a Solage, a Vaillant or a Grimace. Such Italian traits as do occur in *Ch* may be derived from the doctrines of Egidius de Murino, working on men like Senleches, Guido and S. Uciredor. But it is more likely that these men invented many of the special noteforms found in *Ch*, which were then codified by Egidius and Anon. V [74]. This seems quite possible when we consider the reputation of Navarre and Aragon in notational matters, for it is here that the minim was invented [75]. However that may be, the notation exploited in *Ch* was developed in Italy, but not in France. It was also utilised in Cyprus, as that wonderful monument of early fifteenth century music, the Ms *TuB,* can prove.

At all events, it seems to us that the usual theory of *Ch*'s origin cannot be denied. The use of the six-line stave suggests that the manuscript was originally prepared to receive Italian music, for few pieces in *Ch* need six lines. Or possibly the normal Italian procedure was adhered to, in spite

[72] Delisle, *Chantilly, Le Cabinet des livres, Manuscrits,* II, 278; WolfG I, 328 f.; Besseler, MGG II, Sp. 1085.

[73] ApelL, 3b, suggests on paleographical grounds that *Ch* is French, but is opposed by Besseler, MGG II, Sp. 1085.

[74] CS III, 118-124 and 379-398.

[75] According to the *Quatuor Principalia Musicae,* CS IV, 257 (CS III, 336 f.).

of the fact that the works of *Ch* are mainly French. The same procedure is found in *P* and *PR,* but these do contain Italian trecento music as well as the French pieces. It is significant that the Cordier additions, *Ch* 1 and 2, are written on a five-line stave, which tends to confirm the theory that Cordier himself wrote them. A further support for *Ch*'s Italian origin is the bad condition of the French texts, which indeed in other Italian mss are often omitted altogether (*FP* and *P*). It is true that the native languages of Aragon and Béarn were not French, but the singers at the courts of Gaston Phébus and John I were. We know in any case that *Ch* was in Italy in 1461, which can scarcely be more than fifty years after its composition. The owner of the codex in the year mentioned was one Francescho d'alto biancho degli alberti, a name which suggests at once the *Paradiso degli alberti,* the *Romanza* written in 1389 by Giovanni da Prato [76]. The *Paradiso* is the lovely villa of the Alberti family of Florence, where music plays such a large part. One of the pieces mentioned in another work about Florence is *Ch* 67, *La harpe de melodie* [77]. These are not by any means the only connections between *Ch* and Florence. We have mentioned the direct copying of pieces from *Ch* into *FP*, and possibly into other trecento manuscripts; and we have mentioned the *Augustini de Florentia* of *Ch* 108, a motet which may not have existed in the manuscript from which *Ch* was copied.

If *Ch* itself is Italian, the manuscript from which it was copied must have been French, though, as will be obvious from the previous discussion of composers, this original manuscript came not from the North but from the territories of Foix and Aragon in the South-West. This very definite statement can be supported by a considerable amount of evidence. Most important is the fact that a large number of pieces were written for Gaston Phébus (1331-1391) and John I of Aragon (1350-1395). Scarcely less revealing is the identification of many composers from *Ch* with musicians who belonged to the house of Barcelona in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Yet there *is* a certain amount of Avignon influence in *Ch*. Indeed Pirrotta believed that *Ch* was the main source for the Avignon repertoire [78], but this is going too far. Only two works refer directly to Pope Clement VII (1378-1394), under whose pontificate most of the works in *Ch* must fall. Of these one is by Philip of Caserta, but it is ano-

[76] A. Wesselofsky, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti .... di Giovanni da Prato,* 3 vols., Bologna, 1867.

[77] S. Debenedetti, *Il „Sollazzo" e il „Saporetto" con altre rime di Simone Prudenzani d'Orvieto* (*Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, Suppl. no. 15*), 1913, Sonnet 29. *Il „Sollazzo"* is datable 1400-1420. *La harpe de melodie* was also to be found in the lost Vienna manuscript which contained among other things the treatise of Egidius de Murino. There it was notated in harp shape (cf. CS III, xvi).

[78] *Il codice Estense* etc., 125.

nymous in *Ch*. This would hardly indicate an Avignon origin for the manuscript, for the composer of a work dedicated to the Pope would surely be known there. Yet the other four works by Philip all bear his name, and I have ventured to suggest that *Ch* 54 refers to Gaston Phébus [79]. The other Ballade in *Ch* which refers to Clement VII is no. 72 by Mayhuet de Joan, none of whose works refer to Foix or Aragon or their rulers. Against the two Avignon compositions must be set six pieces at least addressed to Gaston Phébus, three to John I of Aragon, and one to Eleanor of Aragon, to mention only the most obvious cases. Considering the close relations which existed between Foix, Aragon and Avignon, it is not surprising to find in *Ch* two Avignon compositions, but direct connections between *Ch* and the Papal court are missing. (In the same way direct connections between Foix and *Iv* are missing, although two pieces in this manuscript are dedicated to Gaston Phébus).

Thanks to the researches of J. Maria Roca, J. Coroleu, A. Rubió i Lluch and Higini Anglès we now know a lot about the minstrels of the king of Aragon. And, though we knew before what a great time the fourteenth century was for travelling, we are still amazed to see that the minstrels of the court of Aragon went once if not twice a year to the schools of minstrelsy in the Low Countries [80]. Froissart mentions a great concourse of minstrels at Brussels in 1366 consisting of men from the courts of the kings of Denmark, Navarre and Aragon, and of the dukes of Lancaster, Bavaria and Brunswick [81]. This was before the period in which we are interested, but obviously these journeyings were nothing unusual. The route from Aragon to Belgium led through Montpellier [82] and hence through Avignon. No wonder then that the musical repertoire of Aragon and Avignon had much in common. The kings of Aragon obtained singers and instrumentalists from Avignon, and we have several references to musical instruments ordered for the Aragon court from makers in Avignon [83]. On one occasion we even have a reference to a codex just like the one we are now investigating, and it is ordered from Avignon in 1389 [84]. Close as the relations are between Avignon and Aragon, it is all the more striking to find how limited are such connections in *Ch* and

[79] P. 74.

[80] H. Angles, *El músic Jacomí,* 618.

[81] Article *Froissart* in *Encyclopedia Britannica* IX, 15th ed. 1947, 862b.

[82] H. Angles, *El músic Jacomí,* 619, 623.

[83] Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'historia de la Cultura Catalana Migeval,* II, Barcelona, 1921, 196, n. 1; 339 (no. 351).

[84] Coroleu, *Documents Historichs Catalans del Sigle XIV,* Barcelona, 1889, 114; Rubió i Lluch, *Documents* etc., 220, n. 1. (*un llibre on sien notats de . xv . en . . xx . motets; e axi mateix que hi hage ballades, rondells e virelays que sien la flor; e fets*

how important the courts of Gaston Phébus and John of Aragon. The admittedly corrupt texts are in this respect of great importance, for it is in those which do not reveal links with Avignon that we find the most personal touches. The textual unity in *Ch* is in fact remarkable at times, and one feels that it was for and in one particular circle that many of the texts among the cantilena works were written. (Exception must be made of certain texts from the Avignon repertoire and of the realistic Virelais in general. Most of the latter were undoubtedly brought from the North.) This can only be the circle of Gaston Phébus and John I of Aragon, and in particular that of Phébus. This conclusion is forced on us not only by the presence of at least six compositions addressed to him but also by many veiled references in the texts. For instance there is the frequent reference to a most vicious enemy [85], possibly the count of Armagnac, Gaston's hereditary enemy. John I of Aragon was not so troubled by enemies as Phébus, and one feels it is not he who needs to deal out *grant correction*. However, it is true that it is not easy to separate pieces written for Gaston Phébus and pieces written for the court at Barcelona, particularly since Foix and Aragon were so intimately connected. More important perhaps is the textual unity already mentioned. Lines from one poem are used in others, and the same theme is used in various works in a way which reveals a common origin. *Barat* for instance is a theme which occurs constantly in *Ch* [86], but rarely outside it. The method of opening a Ballade with a string of classical, biblical or legendary names is a particular feature of our manuscript [87]. The allegory of the *dieu d'amour* or the *roy d'amour* occurs several times [88], as does the allegory of the snake already mentioned [89]. A close study of such textual interrelations will leave no doubt as to the common origin (not necessarily the common authorship) of many texts. If a classical name like Phébus must indicate Gaston III of Foix, the same cannot be said of names like Jupiter or Zephirus, which, if they do indicate someone definite are in themselves too ambiguous to admit certain identification. The total picture at all events favours the assumption that the manuscript from which *Ch* was copied was written for the courts

los fer (*afegía*) *als xandres del papa, car ells saben la flor d'açó*). This is exactly the arrangement of *Ch* with its large collection of cantilena works and 13 motets. How the fashion has changed in ten years can be seen from a similar order placed in 1379 where the accent is on motets: *e volem que aporten .... un llibre ou haje molts motets e rondells e ballades e virelays* (Rubió i Lluch, *Ibid*).

[85] Cf. *Ch* 18, 61, 79.

[86] Cf. *Ch* 58, 79.

[87] Cf. *Ch* 38, 39, 55, 61, 63, 66, 70, 71, 88.

[88] Cf. *Ch* 73, 79.

[89] Cf. P. 77.

of Foix and Aragon. Even pieces written for the Duke of Berry can be brought into this circle.

The date of this original manuscript remains to be mentioned. The codex is usually supposed to have contained works written between 1369, the date of *Ch* 31, and 1389, the date of *Ch* 20. An older layer of compositions containing works by such immediate followers of Machaut as Andrieu, Vaillant and Grimace can be distinguished from the later pieces by Senleches, Cuvelier, Susay, etc. [90]. This theory is undoubtedly correct, but we must take care to avoid a strict classification of music and composers according to whether they belong to the old or new layer unless we know exact dates. For instance, we know *Ch* 31 was composed in 1369, but a piece like *Ch* 32, also by Vaillant, is by all appearances more mature. Similarly Solage's Ballade addressed to the Duke of Berry is a very mature work — Apel classes it with the most complex works of *Ch* [91] — and we must not think this composer belongs in the old layer simply because he is usually somewhat conservative compared with Senleches. Our date of 1389 for *Ch* 50 [92] fits in well with Apel's stylistic analysis. The other datable works are given in the inventory at the end of this article.

Judging by *Ch* 20 alone, it is obvious that the original manuscript of which *Ch* is a copy cannot have been written before 1389. The date of the copy itself is not certain, but it is unlikely that it was written before 1400. More cannot be said, except to remark on the fact that the added index was written before the added compositions of Baude Cordier, since these two pieces are not named in it.

If this is all we can say about the date of *Ch,* at least we have been able to contribute something new in the discovery that the manuscript was almost certainly copied at Florence. In this respect it may not be out of place to mention that Gaston Phébus did keep in touch with the Italian Popes. During celebrations held in Orthez at Christmas 1388 we read that the company included four bishops, two Clementists and two Urbanists [93]. Phébus obviously tried to please both Avignon and Rome, or, more important, their partisans.

Reading.

[90] G. de Van, *La Pédagogie Musicale,* etc., 84.
[91] ApelL, 10b.
[92] P. 76.
[93] Shears, *Froissart, Chronicler and Poet,* 52.

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CaB	Cambrai, Bibl. comm. 1328 (1176). See descriptions by F. Ludwig in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 283 ff, and *Guillaume de Machaut, Musikalische Werke* II, 20: and H. Besseler, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 197-199.
Em	Munich, Staatsbibl., mus. 3232a. Inventory by K. Dèzes, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* X (1927-28), 78-99.
FP	Florence, Bibl. Nazionale, Panciatichi 26.
Iv	Ivrea, Bibl. capitolare. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 188-191.
Mach	Machaut mss. Full descriptions in *Guillaume de Machaut, Musikalische Werke* II.
McV	London, British Museum, Additional 41667 I. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 196.
Mod	Modena, Bibl. Estense M. 5. 24 (*olim* lat. 568). Inventory by N. Pirrotta, *Atti della Reale Acad. di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo,* Serie 4, vol. V. 2 (1944-45), 116-120; offprint 1946.
O	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213. Catalogue of contents by Dom Anselm Hughes, *Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library,* Oxford, 1951, 12-25.
P	Paris, Bibl. Nationale, fonds italien 568.
Pr	Prague, Universitäts-Bibl. XI. E. 9. Inventory by F. Kammerer, *Die Musikstücke des Prager Kodex XI. E. 9.* Brno, 1931.
PR	Paris, Bibl. Nationale, nouvelle acquisition française 6771.
Str	Strasbourg, Bibl. de la ville 222 C. 22. Inventory by Ch. van den Borren, *Le manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg,* Antwerp, 1924.
Trem	Chateau de Serrant (Maine-et-Loire), ms of the duchess de la Tremoïlle. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1927), 235 ff.
Wolk	Vienna, Nationalbibl., ms 2777.

ABBREVIATIONS

B	Ballade	isR	Isorhythmic Rondeau
Cft	Contrafactum	isRr	Isorhythmic Rondeau refrain
Ch	Chanson	R	Rondeau
CR	Canonic Rondeau	Rr	Rondeau refrain
Ct	Contratenor	T	Tenor
isMo	Isorhythmic Motet	V	Virelai

INVENTORY OF CHANTILLY MUSEE CONDE 1047

(*Ch*)

SECTION I. THREE-PART WORKS IN CANTILENA STYLE

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
1	11v	Belle, bonne, sage	3^1	R	M. Baude Cordier		In heartshape. Facs. ApelN, 427; MGG II, pl. 55; GenA, pl. 19; WolfT, pl. 100. Edn. Riemann, I. 2, 354; ApelN, App. no. 62; HAM no. 48b.
2	12	Tout par compas suy composes	3^2	CR	M. Baude Cordier		Notated in circle form. Facs. Aubry, pl. 22; GenA, pl. 20; MGG II, pl. 55; Riemann. 351. Edn. Aubry, 21 f.; Riemann, 352.
3	13	Toute clarte m'est obscure	3^1	B	—	*FP* f. 105v-106	Facs. GenA, pl. 5.
4	13v	Un orible plein Adieu vos comant	3^1+1	V	—		Facs. GenA, pl. 6; WolfH I, opp. 364; MGG II, 1049-50. Edn. WolfH I, 365 ff.
5	14	Tres douce playsant figure	3^1	V	—		
6	14v	Madama m'a congie donne	3^1	B	—	*Trem* 90	
7	15	A mon pouir garde	3^1	V	—		
8	15v	Se doit il plus en biau semblant fier	3^1	isR	Jo. de alte curie		Facs. GenA, pl. 7.
9	16	Je chante ung chant	3^1	isR	M(atheus) de Sancto Jo(hanne)		Facs. GenA, pl. 8.
10	16v	Laus detur multipharia	4^1	V	Triplum. laus detur: Petrus Fabri		St. Katherine.
11	17	Fuions de ci	3^1	B	Selenches Jacob	*Mod* 24 (Selesses Jacopinus); *PR* f. 61v (an.)	Death of Eleonore of Aragon, 1382. Facs. GenA, pl. 9. Edn. ApelL, no. 47.
12	17v	Tres doulz amis Ma(ma)dame ce que vous m'avez proumis Cent mille fois	3^1+1+1	R	Jo. Vayllant		Edn. ApelL, no. 76.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
13	18	Tres gentil cuer amoureux	3^1	V	(Solage)	Identical with no. 81	Edn. ApelL, no. 38.
14	18v	De petit peu	3^1	B	(Machaut)	*Mach, FP* f. 100 (an.); *P* f. 124v (an.); *Mod* 46 (4 voc.) (an.); *Pr* f. 12v-13 (2 voc.) (an.); *CaB* f. 15 (4 voc.) (an.); *Trem* 45 (an.)	Edn. WolfG II/III, no. 24; Machaut, B 18; Kammerer, no. 32 (after *Pr*).
15	19	Se Zephirus Se Jupiter	3^{1+1}	B	Grimace	*P* f. 43 (an.)	
16	19v	De Narcissus	3^1	B	Mag(iste)r Franciscus	*P* f. 33v-34 (an.); *PR* f. 81 (an.); *Trem* 48 (an.)	Edn. ApelL, no. 55.
17	20	En l'amoureux vergier	3^1	B	Solage		Edn. ApelL, no. 31.
18	20v	Phiton, Phiton, beste tres venimeuse	3^1	B	Mag(iste)r Franciscus	*PR* f. 56 (an.)	Facs. GenA, pl. 10. Gaston Phébus, Count of Foix.
19	21	Passerose de beaute	3^1	B	Trebor		Facs. GenA, pl. 11. Edn. ApelL, no. 41.
20	21v	En seumeillant	3^1	B	Trebor		John I of Aragon's expedition to Sardinia, 1388-9. Facs. GenA, pl. 12. Edn. ApelL, no. 44.
21	22	Roses et lis ay veu en une fleur	3^1	B	Magister Egidius Aug(ustin)us		Facs. GenA, pl. 13; MGG III, Sp. 1169-1170 (Cantus only).
22	22v	Le mont Aon de Trace, doulz païs	3^1	B	—	*FP* f. 103-104	Gaston Phébus.
23	23	Sans joye avoir ne puet	3^1	B	—	*P* f. 27v-28 (2 voc.)	
24	23v	Corps femenin par vertu de nature	3^1	B	Solage		Acrostic „Cathelline le roine d'amours". Edn. ApelL, no. 32.
25	24	Je ne puis avoir plaisir	3^1	V	—	*FP* f. 104v-105; *Mod* 35	Facs. ApelN, 413.
26	24v	Medee fu en amer veritable	3^1	B	—	*FP* f. 105v-106; *O* f. 116v-117	
27	25	Dieux gart qui bien le chantera	3^1	R	Guido		Facs. & edn. WolfG II/III, no. 64.
28	25v	Or voit tout en aventure	3^1	B	Guido		

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
29	25v	Robin, muse, muse, muse Je ne say fere fuszee	3^{1+1}	R	Tenor: Guido		
30	26	Pour ce que je ne say gairez	2^{1}	isR	Jo. Vaillant		
31	26v	Dame doucement trait Doulz amis de cuer parfait	3^{1+1}	R	Jo. Vaillant		*Compilatum fuit parisius anno domini M°CCC sexagesimo nono.*
32	27	Onques Jacob por la belle Rachel	3^{1}	B	Jo. Vaillant		
33	27v	Se je cudoie tous jours vivre en tel point	3^{1}	B	—		
34	28	De quan qu'on peut belle et bonne estrener	3^{1}	B	—		
35	28v	Ung lion say de tots belle figure	3^{1}	B	—		Edn. ApelL, no. 61.
36	29	O bonne, douce Franse	3^{1}	Rr	—		
37	29v	Va, Fortune, trop as vers moy grant tort	3^{1}	B	—		
38	30	Se Alixandre et Hector fussent en vie	3^{1}	B	Trebor		Gaston Phébus. Edn. ApelL, no. 45.
39	30v	Pictagoras, Jabol et Orpheus	3^{1}	B	Suzoy		
40	31	Quant joyne cuer en may est amoureux	3^{1}	B	Trebor		Edn. ApelL, no. 43.
41	31v	Si con cigist mon cuer	3^{1}	B	Jo. Olivier		
42	32	De ma dolour ne puis trouver confort	3^{1}	B	Philippot de Caserta	*Mod* 47	Edn. ApelL, no. 60.
43	32v	En un peril doutous bien delitable	3^{1}	B	—		
44	33	Plus ne put musique son secret taire	3^{1}	B	—		
45	33v	En atendant souffrir	3^{1}	B	Jo. Galiot	*Mod* 34 (Mr. filipoctus); *PR* f. 84v (an.)	Facs. of *PR*: ApelL, pl. VII. Edn. ApelL, no. 56.
46	34	Ma douce amour, je me doy ben conplaindre	3^{1}	B	Jo. Simonis de Haspre	*Mod* 51 (an.); O f. 123 (an.)	Dannemann, no. I.
47	34v	Puisque je sui fumeux plains de fumee	2^{1}	B	Hasprois		On the society of „fumeux". *Jo. simon de haspre composuit dictum. Ja. de noyon.* Facs. GenA, pl. 14.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
48	35	Sans vous ne puis, tres douce creature	3^1	B	Matheus de Sancto Johanne	*Mod* 26 (an.)	
49	35v	Prophilias, un des nobles de Roume	3^1	B	Jo. Susay		
50	36	S'aincy estoit que ne feust la noblesce	3^1	B	Solage		Jean, duc de Berry. Facs. ApelL, pl. IV. Edn. ApelL, no. 34.
51	36v	Loyaute me tient en espoir	3^1	isR	Garinus	*P* f. 121 (an.)	Edn. ApelL, no. 78.
52	36v	Espoir dont tu m'as fayt	3^1	R	—		
53	37	Le sault perilleux a l'aventure prins	3^1	B	J. Galiot		Facs. GenA, pl. 15; MGG II, pl. 54.
54	37v	Par le grant senz d'Adriane la sage	3^1	B	Philipot	*P* f. 125v-126 (an.)	
55	38	Se Galaas et le puissant Artus	3^1	B	Jo. Cunelier		Gaston Phébus. Edn. WolfG II/III, no. 65.
56	38v	Il n'est nulz homs en ce monde vivant	3^1	B	Philipot		
57	39	En remirant vo douce pourtraiture	3^1	B	Philipot	*Mod* 67; *PR* f. 80v (an.)	Facs. of *Mod*: ApelL, pl. III. Edn. ApelL, no. 59.
58	39v	En nul estat n'a si grant fermete	3^1	B	Goscalch		
59	40	En attendant d'amer la douce vie	3^1	isRr	Galiot		
60	40	Se vos me voles fayre outrage	3^1	isRr	—		
61	40v	Lorques Arthus, Alixandre et Paris	3^1	B	Jo. Cun(elier)		
62	41	Inclite flos orti Gebennensis	3^1	B	Mayhuet de Joan	*Mod* 25 (an.)	Tenor pro papa Clemente (Pope Clement VII, 1378-1394).
63	41v	Ne Geneine, Tristan, Yssout, Helainne	3^1	B	J. Cun(elier)		Edn. (part): BesM, 145.
64	42	Helas, pitie envers moy dort si fort	3^1	B	Trebor		Edn. ApelL, no. 42.
65	42v	Se Dedalus an sa gaye mestrie	3^1	B	Taillandier		
66	43	Se July Cesar, Rolant et Roy Artus	3^1	B	Trebor		Gaston Phébus. Edn. ApelL, no. 46.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
67	43v	La harpe de mellodie	3^2	Ch	J. Senleches	Vienna ms *cuiusdam ignoti bibliophili* (an.) (see CS III, xv, xxiv)	An apparently incomplete fourth voice seems to have no connection with no. 67.
68	44	En attendant esperance, conforte	3^1	B	Galiot (head of page), Jacob de Senlechos (after text)	*Mod* 78 (Jacopinus Selesses)	Facs. of *Mod*: ApelN, 423; of *Ch*: MGG I, pl. 28. Edn. HAM, no. 47; ApelL, no. 49.
69	44v	Je m'emerveil aucune fois J'ay plusieurs fois pour mon esbatement	3^1+1	B	Jacomi (after 2nd strophe of text: Jacob de Senleches)		Facs. ApelL, pl. VI. Edn. ApelL, no. 48.
70	45	Lameth, Judith et Rachel	3^1	B	—		
71	45v	Par les bons Gedeon et Sanson delivre	3^1	B	(Phylipoctus de Caserta)	*Mod* 59	Clement VII. Edn. WolfG, II/III, no. 66.
72	46	En la saison que toutes ries s'encline	3^1	B	Hymbert de Salinis — T: Jo. Cunelier		Olivier du Guesclin. Text in T & Ct.
73	46v	La dieus d'amours, sires de vrais amans	3^1	B	T: Johannis Cesaris		
74	47	Adieu vous di, tres doulce compaygnie	3^1	B	—		
75	47v	Ent albion de fluus environee	3^1	B	—		
76	48	De tous les moys que sunt en la sayson	3^1	B	—		
77	48v	Angelorum psalat tripudium	2^1	B	S. Uciredor		
		SECTION II. FOUR-PART WORKS IN CANTILENA STYLE					
78	49	De fortune me doi plaindre	4^1	B	(Machaut)	*Mach* (3 voc. with triplum); *PR* f. 64v (an.) (4 voc.); *Str* 102 (an.) (3 voc.); *Trem* 46 (an.)	Edn. Machaut, B 23.
79	49v	Le basile de sa propre nature	4^1	B	Solage		Edn. ApelL, no. 35.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
80	50	Calextone, qui fut dame d'Arouse	3^1	B	Solage		Edn. ApelL, no. 33.
81	50v	Tres gentil cuer amoureux	3^1	V	Solage	Identical with no. 13	Edn. ApelL, no. 38.
82	51	Bien dire et sagement parler	4^1	B	—		
83	51v	De home vray a mon jugement	4^1	B	Jo. de Meruco		
84	52	Armes, amours, dames, chevalerie O flour des flours de toute melodie	4^{1+1}	B	F. Andrieu		Death of Machaut, 1377. Facs. GenA, pl. 16. Edn. Machaut, B 41.
85	52v	A l'arbre sec puis estre compare	4^1	B	Suzoy		
86	53	Des qu'buisson me fu bontez d'enfance	4^1	B	Grymace		
87	53v	De ce que foul pense	3^1	B	P. des Molins	*CaB* f. 5v, f. 10 (an.) (4 voc.); *FP* f. 86v (an.); *McV* 2 (an.); *P* f. 124 (an.); *PR* f. 71v (an.) (4 voc.); *Str* 52 (Wilhelmi de Maschandio); *Trem* 26 (an.)	Edn. WolfH I, 354 f. (4 voc.); Droz et Thibault, 21 (3 voc.).
88	54	Quant Theseus, Hercules et Jason Ne quier veoir	4^{1+1}	B	Machaut	*Mach*; *PR* f. 54v-55 (an.)	Edn. Machaut, B 34.
89	54v	He, tres doulz roussignol joly	4^1	V	Borlet		Tenor „Roussignolet du bois". Edn. ApelL, no. 67.
90	55	Playsance or tost aeuz vous assembles	4^2	V	Pykini	*PR* f. 62v (an.)	
91	55v	Alarme, alarme	4^2	V	Grimace	*PR* f. 69 (an.) (3 voc.)	Edn. Gastoué, III, 787; ApelL, no. 72.
92	56	Cine vermeil, cine de tres haut pris	3^1	B	—	*FP* f. 101v-102 (an.)	
93	56v	Va t'en mon cuer aveuc mes yeux	3^3	R	Gacian Reyneau		
94	57	Sience n'a nul annemi	4^1	B	M(atheus) de Sancto Johan(ne)		

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
95	57v	Helas, je voy mon cuer a fin venir	4^1	B	Solage		Edn. ApelL, no. 36.
96	58	Pluseurs gens voy qui leur pensee	4^1	B	Solage	*FP* f. 106v-107 (an.)	Edn. ApelL, no. 37.
97	58v	Joieux de cuer en seumellant estoye	4^1	V	Solage		Edn. ApelL, no. 39.
98	59	Fumeux fume par fumee	3^1	R	Solage		On the society of „fumeux". Facs. ApelL, pl. V. Edn. ApelL, no. 40.
99	59v	Fortune faulce, parverse	4^1	R	M(atheus) de Sancto Johanne	*Iv* 33 (an.)	
100	60	Par maintes foys	3^1	V	Jo. Vaillant	*Str* 101 (Wilhelmi de Maschandio) (cft. „Ave virgo"); *Em* f. 27v-28 (2 voc. cft.); *Wolk* f. 19 (2 voc. „Der may mit lieber zal")	Edn. of Vaillant: ApelL, no. 69. Edn. of Wolkenstein: WolfG II/III, no. 76; DTO IX, i no. 87; HAM, no. 60. Edn. of both: GenM, 550 ff.
					SECTION III. MOTETS		
101	60v-61	Apta caro Flos virginum T: Alma redemptoris (mater)	4^{1+1}	isMo		*CaB* f. 17; *Iv* 7; *Mod* 29; *Trem* 47	B.V.M. Edn. BesS, 254 ff.
102	61v-62	Yda Capillorum Porcio nature T: Ante thorum trinitatis	4^{1+1}	isMo	(Henricus — Egidius de Pusiex)	*Iv* 9 (an.); *Str* 122/3 (5 voc.); *Trem* 3 (an.)	Ida of Boulogne.
103	62v-63	Degentis vita quid prodest Cum vix ardidici prompti sint T: Vera pudicicia	4^{1+1}	isMo		*BarcC* 6 (3 voc.); *Str* 140; *Trem* 57	B.V.M.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
104	63v-64	Pictagore per dogmata O terra sancta, suplica T: Rosa vernans caritatis	$4^{1}+1$	isMo			Crusade under Pope Gregory XI, 1370-1378.
105	64v-65	Alpha vibrans monumentum Cetus venit heroycus T: Amicum querit	$4^{1}+1$	isMo			B.V.M. Franciscans.
106	65v-66	Rex Karole, Johannis genite Leticie, pacis, concordie	$4^{1}+1$	isMo	(Philippus Royllart)	*Str* 10 (3 voc.)	Charles V. Solus Tenor only.
107	66v-67	L'ardure qu'endure Tres dous espoir T: Ego rogavi Deum	$4^{1}+1$	isMo		*Trem* 98	
108	67v-68	Alma polis religio Axe poli cum artica	$4^{1}+1$	isMo			Members of choir. Facs. GenA, pl. 17.
109	68v-69	Inter densas deserti Imbribus irriguis T: Admirabile est nomen tuum	$4^{1}+1$	isMo			Gaston Phébus. Solus Tenor.
110	69v-70	Multipliciter amando Favore habundare T: Letificat juventutem meam	$3^{1}+1$	isMo			
111	70v-71	Sub Arturo plebs Fons citharizantium (T: In omnem terram)	$3^{1}+1$	isMo	J. Alani	*BL* 218 & 328	Members of an English choir. Facs. GenA, pl. 18; WolfT, pl. 30-31. Edn. DTO 76, 9.
112	71v-72	Tant a suptile pointure Bien pert qu'en moy n'a dart T: Cuius Pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur	$3^{1}+1$	isMo		*Iv* 30	
113	72v	D'ardant desir Se fus d'amer T: Nigra est Set Formosa	$3^{1}+1$	isMo			

Editions of Texts:

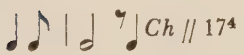
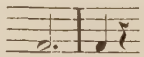
L. Delisle, *Institut de France, Le Musée Condé, Chantilly. Le Cabinet des Livres. Manuscrits* II, Paris, 1900, 282-303 (contains complete *Ch* 20, 38, 50, 54, 61, 71, 80, 102, 108, 111).

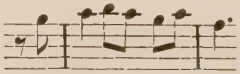
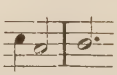
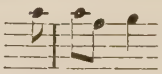
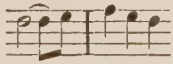
E. Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Queux de St. Hilaire and G. Raynaud X, Paris, 1901, LXII (*Ch* 14), LVI f. (*Ch* 16), XIV f. (*Ch* 47), LXIII (*Ch* 87), LXVI f. and LIV (*Ch* 88, texts 1 and 2).

The following transcriptions are intended to do no more than give some further idea of the wealth of music in *Ch*, which is not merely a collection of exercises in mensural notation. Apel has already given us a remarkable selection of the more complex pieces in his *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century*. The simpler and generally earlier pieces are little known, and so the first two works transcribed here are of this type. They both refer to Phébus in the text. The third piece, more complex, is interesting for its subject-matter dealing with England. Unfortunately the text is too corrupt to permit further identifications. Judging from the style, the piece could not have been written before 1380. The fourth piece is a motet set to French texts. Like most of the other texts, these are somewhat corrupt, and a correct version is an aim rather than a possibility. The tortured rhymes must have obscured the meaning of the poetry sufficiently in the original manuscript, but in *Ch* the meaning is sometimes impossible to make out. Nevertheless the *rimes couronnées* in the motetus are an interesting anticipation of fifteenth century rhetorical usage. It goes without saying that the motet itself must be a work of the fourteenth century, of whose genius it is not an unworthy example. The contratenor seems to be a later addition to an originally three-part work, for it is the only non-isorhythmic voice.

The following are indispensable notes relative to the transcription of the above-mentioned compositions. Indications of clef or clef-changes immediately follow the designation of the voice-part. Numbers alone refer to measures of the modern score:

No. 1 (18) PHITON, PHITON, BESTE TRES VENIMEUSE. *Ch* f. 20v; *PR* f. 56.

<Cantus>: C[4] // 4[1-2] d-c *PR* // 10[2] ♭ om. *Ch* // 14 ♭ om. *PR* // 15[3]-16[2] *Ch* // 17[4] *Ch, PR* // 34 ♮ om. *PR* // 44 *Ch* // 45-46[1]  *Ch* // 49[4] ♭ *Ch* // 50 *pa. gen. Ch, pa. br. PR* // 54[1]-55[2] f-e-d-c-d-e *Ch* //

Contratenor: C[5] // 8[4-5] E *Ch* // 10[1] om. *PR* // 21[2]-23[3] *Ch* // 35 *Ch* // 38  *Ch* // 42[3] D *Ch* // 48[3]-49[2] *Ch* // 60[2]-62[3] as 21[2]-23[3] //

Tenor: C[5] // 11 om. *Ch* // 20[2] F *PR* // 44[2-4] *Ch* // 55[4]-57 *Ch* // 60-61 *Ch* //

No. 2 (22) LE MONT AÖN DE TRACE, DOULZ PAÏS. *Ch* f. 22v; *FP* f. 103v-104.

<Cantus>: C[3] // red notes (white notes *FP*): 29-30, 36, 62-63, 66-69, 76-77, 82 // 16 ♯ om. *FP* // 22[3-4] *FP* // 33 ♯ before 34[1] *Ch, FP* // 48 ♯ om. *FP* // 50[3] ♭ *FP* // 52[2] ♭ before 52[3] *Ch* // 54[1] ♭ om. *FP* //

Contratenor: F[4] *Ch*, f[3] *FP* // red notes (white notes *FP*) 47[2], 49[2], 53[2] //

20 ♯ om. *FP* // 35-37 B-F-B *FP* // 47 ♭ om. *FP* // 49[1] *min. Ch, FP* // 56 ♮ om. *FP* // 76 fails to rhyme musically with 29 // 78[2-3] 𝅗𝅥. *FP*

Tenor: F[3] // red notes (hollow notes *FP*): 23-26 // 9 ♯ before 8[1] *Ch, FP* // 30[2] ♮ *Ch, FP* // 60 ♮ before 58[2] as F♯ *Ch* and as G♯ *FP* //

No. 3 (75) EN ALBION DE FLUNS ENVIRONNE. *Ch* f. 47v.

<Cantus>: C[3] // mensuration signs: ◯ 14, 53; ◯ 26[2], 45[2], 64[2]; C [= ⊙]: 46 // red full notes; 5, 6[4]-7[2], 12, 26[2]-27[2], 45[2]-46(3), 50, 64[2]-65[2] // red hollow notes: 14-23, 35-36, 53-62 // 43[2] *quiet. cum pa. sb.* // 44[3] *ibid* //

<Contratenor>: C[5] // mensuration signs: ◯ 20, 23[3], 36[2], 59, 62[3] // red full notes: 20[1-6], 23[3-8], 59[1-6], 62[3-8] // red hollow notes: 5-7, 11, 14-19, 26[3]-27[4], 28, 33-34, 36[2-6], 48[3]-50, 53[2]-58, 64[3]-65[4], 66 // 43[3] *quiet. cum pa. sb.* // 44[2] *ibid* //

<Tenor>: C[5] // red full notes: 10 // red hollow notes: 17, 20-21, 23[2-3], 35-36, 56, 59-60, 62[2-3] // 43[2] *quiet. cum pa. sb.* // 44[2] *ibid* //

No. 4 (107) L'ARDURE QU'ENDURE — TRES DOUS ESPOIR — EGO ROGAVI DEUM. *Ch* f. 66v-67. Isorhythm: $\frac{\text{3A (32 ⊙)}}{\text{16 N}} > \frac{\text{3B (16 ⊙)}}{\text{16 N}}$

<Triplum>: C[2] //

<Motetus>: C[3] // 103 C[2] // 141[1] C[3] //

Contratenor: C[4] // 29[1] C[5] // 48[1] G *Ch* //

Tenor: C[4] // red notes: 2[1]-3(1), 8(1)-16 // II, 8(1) *pa. br.* om.

Textual variants and corrections. Only no. 1 of our selection has variants, the text of no. 2 being omitted in the secondary source apart from the incipit *le mont aon.* The texts of *Ch* are often so corrupt that many corrections can only be considered as suggestions. The version of no. 1 copied in *PR* is unfortunately even more corrupt than that of *Ch,* in spite of several attempted corrections. Numbers alone refer to lines of text:

No. 1: *1* venimeuse: veneneuse *PR* // *3* de sire: et cires *mss*; ingrat: de gre *PR* // aineuse: hayneusse *PR* // *4* convient: couvient *Ch*; batu: batir *Ch* // *6* gent: gens *Ch*; ysnel: ynel *Ch*; tres ysnel om. *PR* // *7* convient: couvient *Ch* // *8* contes: conteus *Ch* // *9* descript: escrit *PR*; cuide: ouide *mss* // *11* doumageuse: damageuse *PR* // *12* n'eust: eust *PR* // *13* speris: esperit *PR*; plein: plain *PR*; fiel: fel *PR* // *14* eust: eut *PR*; apel: appel *PR* // *15* produire: produre *PR* // *17* se lonc temps: selong le tans *PR* // *21* fu: fus *PR* // *22* li tiẽn: bien *PR*; ton: tuit ty *Ch* // *23* sera: seront *Ch* // rest of *23* and *24* om. *PR* // *24* contes: contiens *Ch* //

No. 2: *2* resonnent: resounent *ms* // *10* estudie: estudier *ms* // *14* chapeaux: clapeaux *ms*; this line is three syllables too short // *21* qu'a mon tour: que mon cour *ms* //

No. 3: *1* Albion: talbion *ms*; fluns: fluus *ms*; environnée: environené *ms* // *2* mene: mest *ms*; une: men vien *ms* // *5* par: pour *ms* // *7* mie: mae *ms* //

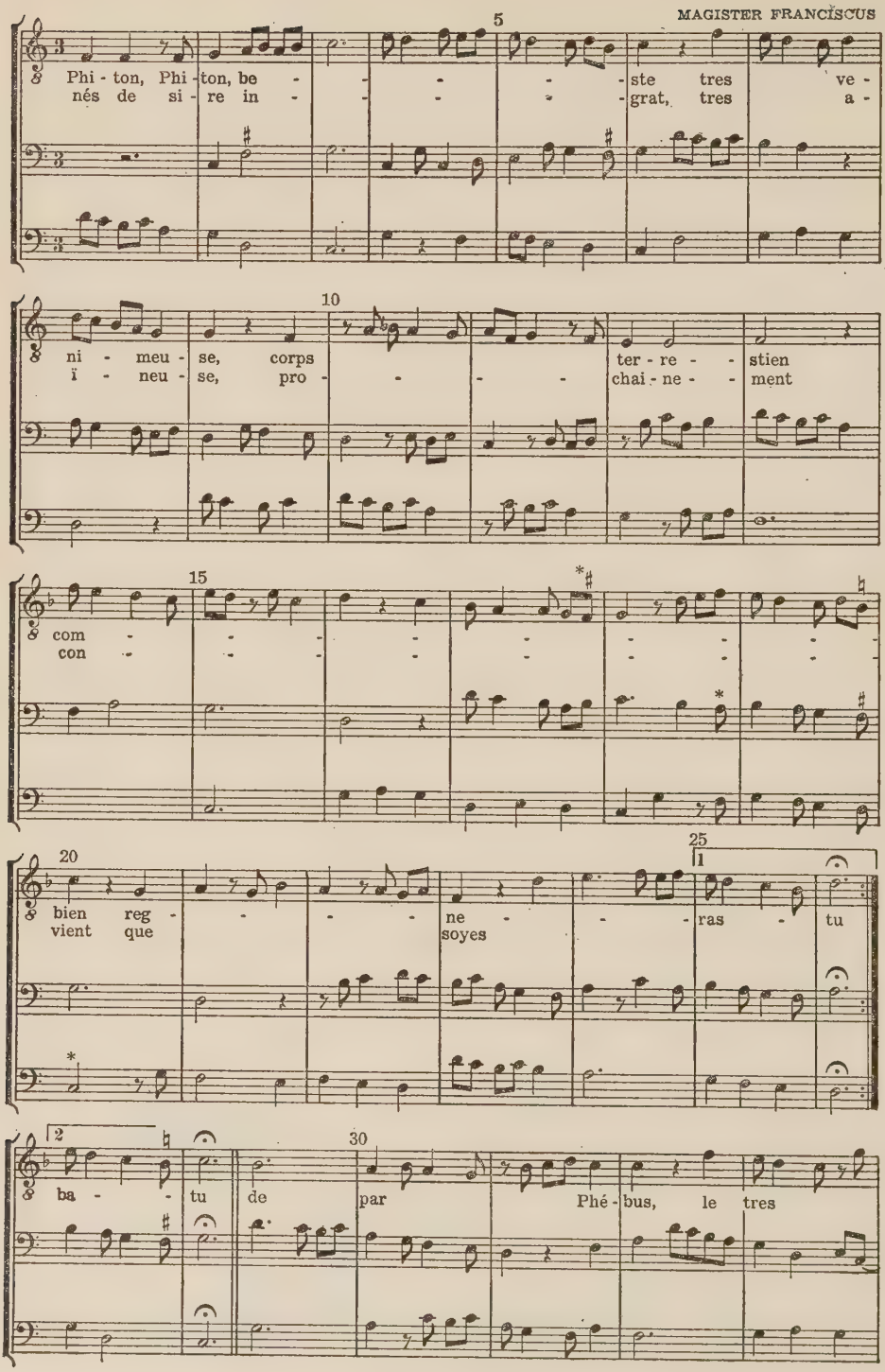
No. 4a: *24* de mort: de mort mort *ms* // *34* m'oste: mostre *ms* // *35* est: es *ms* // 4b: *9* pareil: parell *ms* //

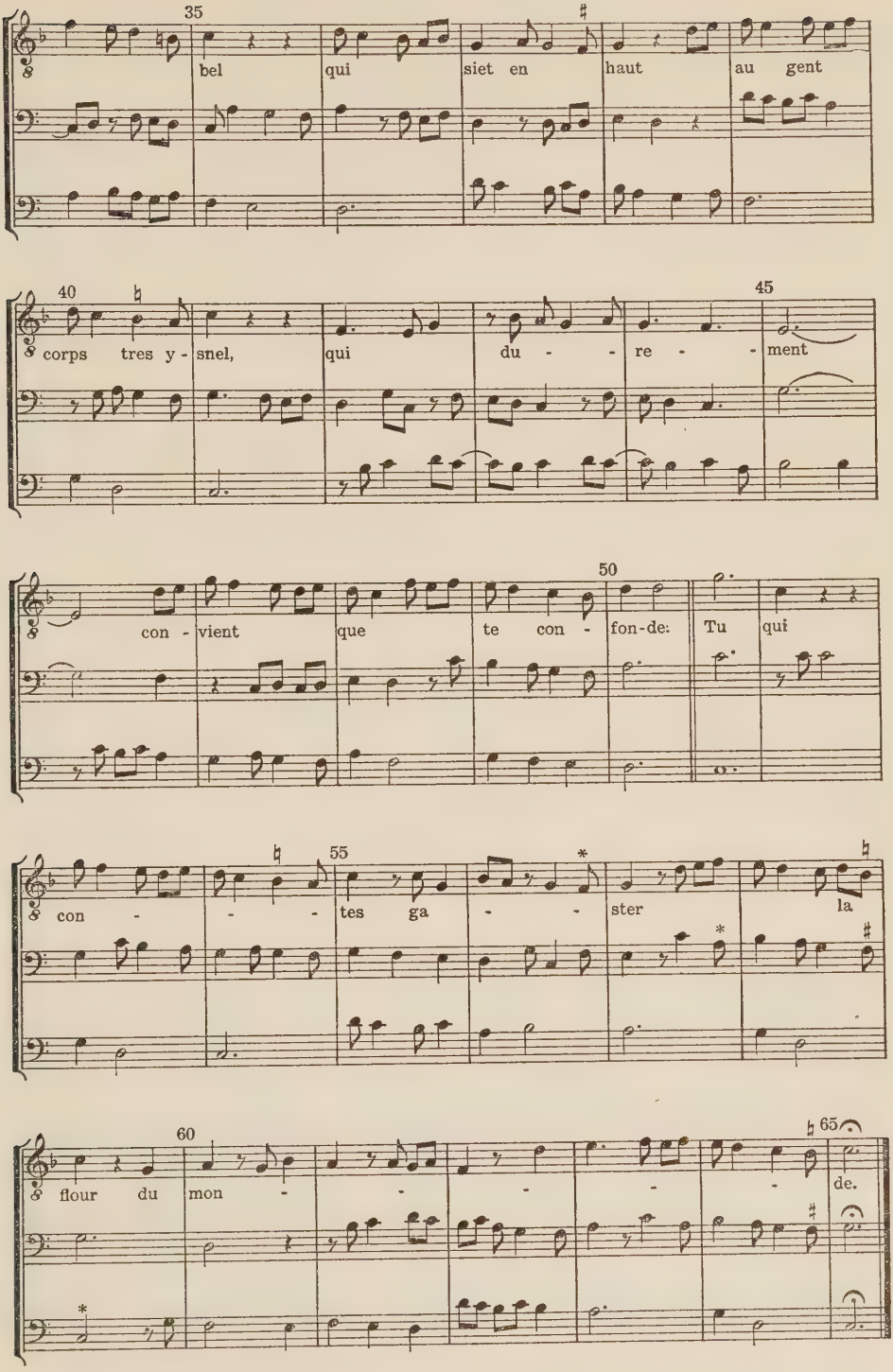
Abbreviations used in above notes

br.	*brevis*	om.	omitted
gen.	*generalis*	*pa.*	*pausa*
min.	*minima*	*quiet.*	*quietantia*
N	*modus imperfectus*	*sb.*	*semibrevis*

1

MAGISTER FRANCISCUS


Phi - ton, Phi - ton, be - - - - - - ste tres ve -
nés de si - re in - - - - - - grat, tres a -
ni - meu - se, corps ter - re - - stien
ï - neu - se, pro - - - - chai - ne - - ment
com - - - - - - - - - - - -
con - - - - - - - - - - - -
bien reg - - - - ne - - - ras - tu
vient que soyes
ba - - tu de par Phé - bus, le tres


35
bel qui siet en haut au gent
40
corps tres y - snel, qui
45
du - - re - - ment
50
con - vient que te con - fon-de: Tu qui
con - - - - tes ga - - ster la
55
60
flour du mon - - - - - de.
65

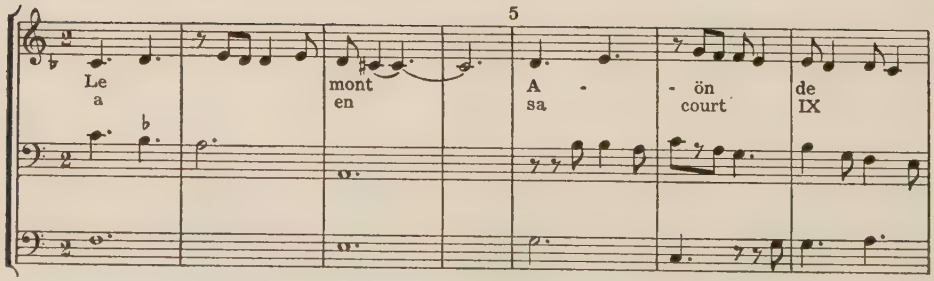
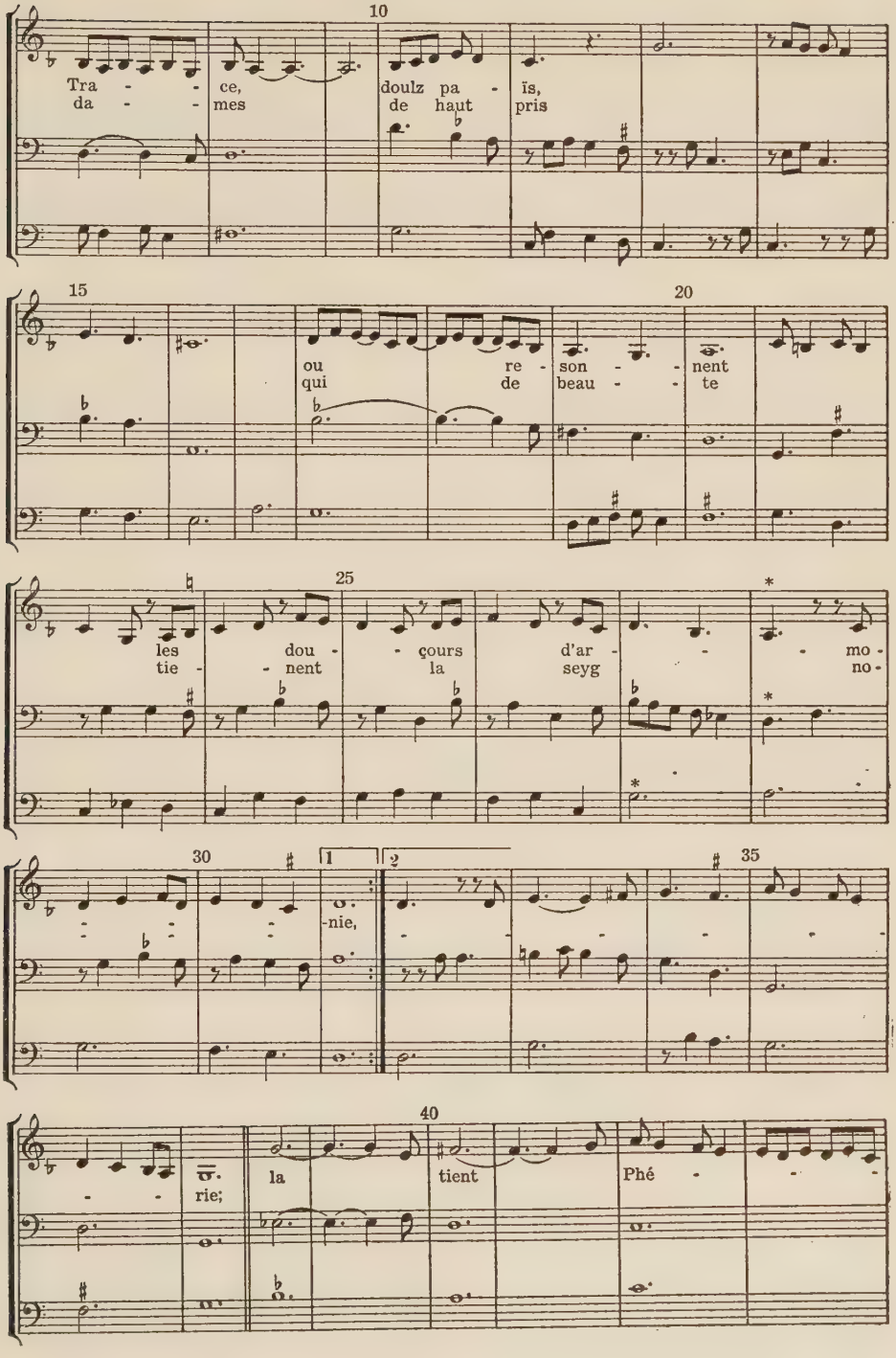
1

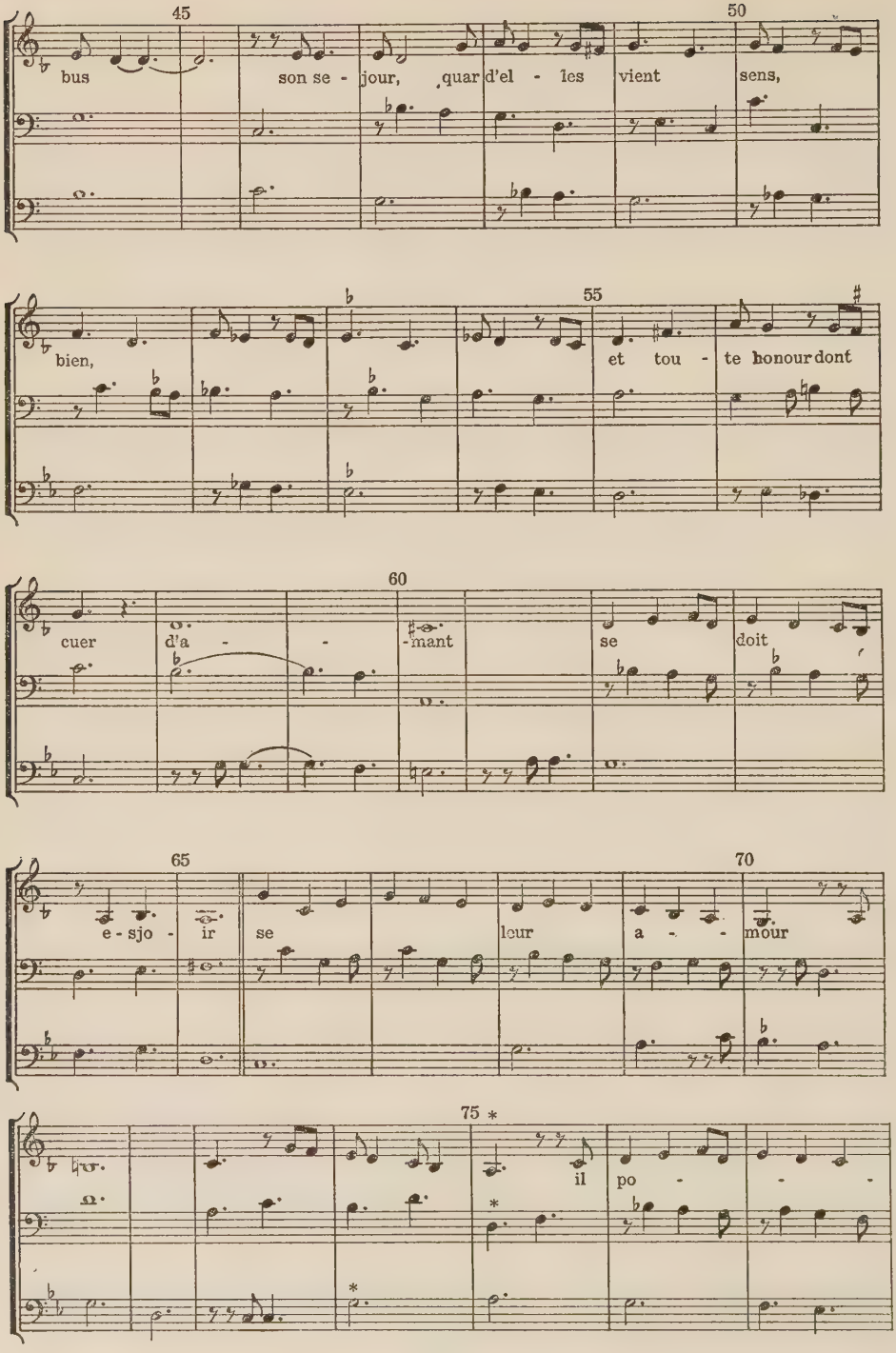
Phiton, Phiton, beste tres venimeuse,
corps terrestien, combien regneras tu,
nés de sire ingrat, tres aineuse,
prochainement convient que soyes batu
de par Phébus, le tres bel
qui siet en haut au gent corps tres ysnel,
qui durement convient que te confonde:
Tu qui contes gaster la flour du monde.

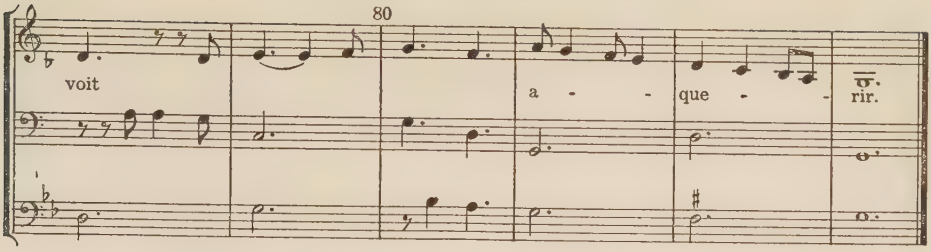
Bien te descript, cuide, si crueuse
car en venin est toute ta vertu,
n'onques ne creut autre si doumageuse;
et se Nature n'eust bien pourveü,
ton speris plein de fiel
contre le ciel eust fait tel apel
que de toy produire fust quarte et monde:
Tu qui contes gaster la flour du monde.

Et se lonc temps Fortune tenebreuse
te sueffre, en haut nïent mains je conclu
que ta durer ne sera pas joyeuse.
Ainsy Phiton ne fu mie abatu
d'un tout seul dart fu sa pel;
li tien pour vray que ton cuer si revel
sera enclos en misere parfonde:
Tu qui contes gaster la flour du monde.

2



10
Tra - - ce,
da - - mes
doulz pa - ïs,
de haut pris
15
20
ou re - son - - nent
qui de beau - - te
25
les dou - - çours d'ar - - - mo -
tie - - nent la seyg no -
30
1
2
35
-nie,
40
rie;
la
tient
Phé - - -

45
50
bus son se - jour, quar d'el - les vient sens,
55
bien, et tou - te honour dont
60
cuer d'a - - mant se doit
65
70
e - sjo - ir se leur a - mour
75 *
il po - - -



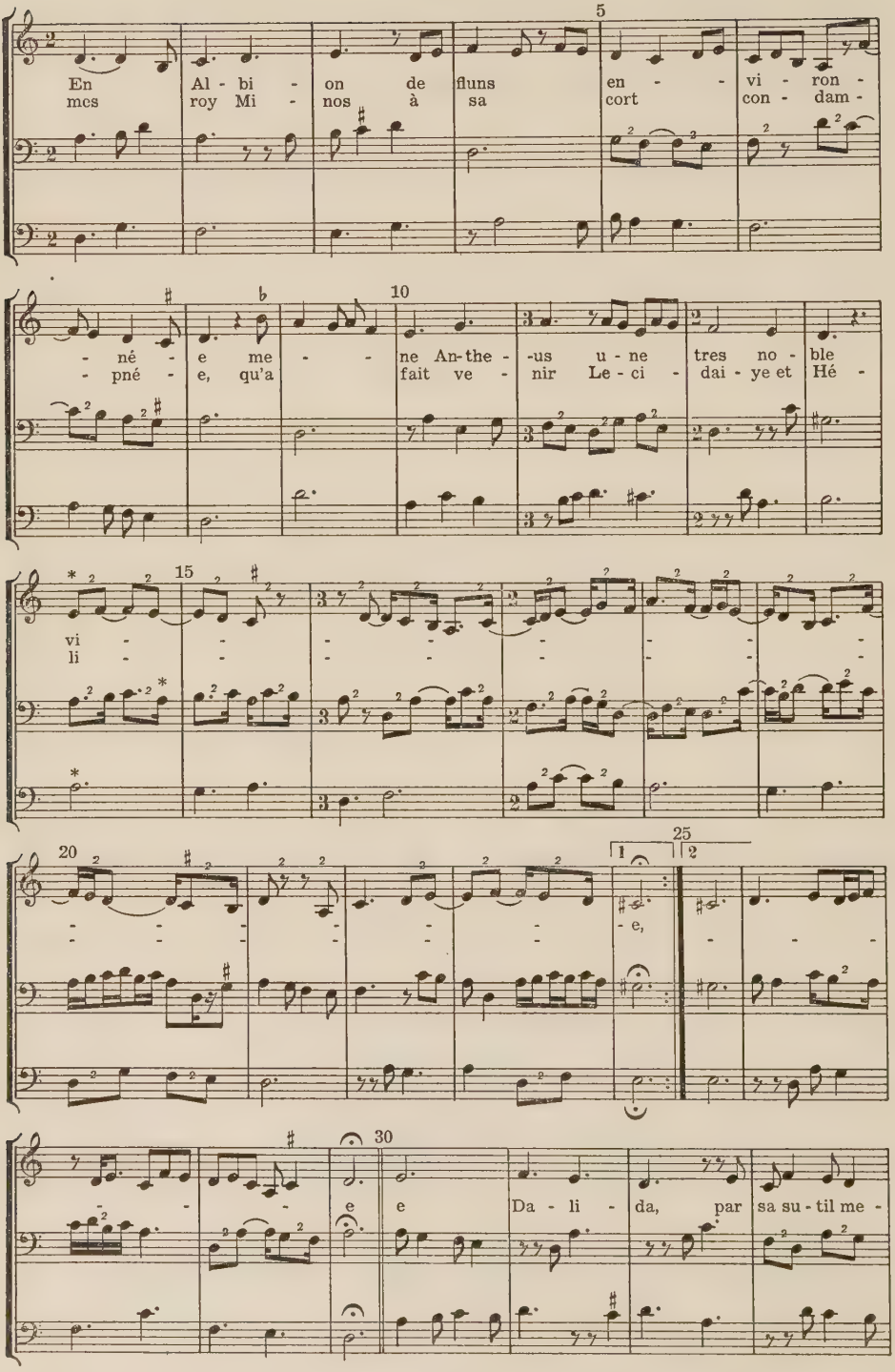
2

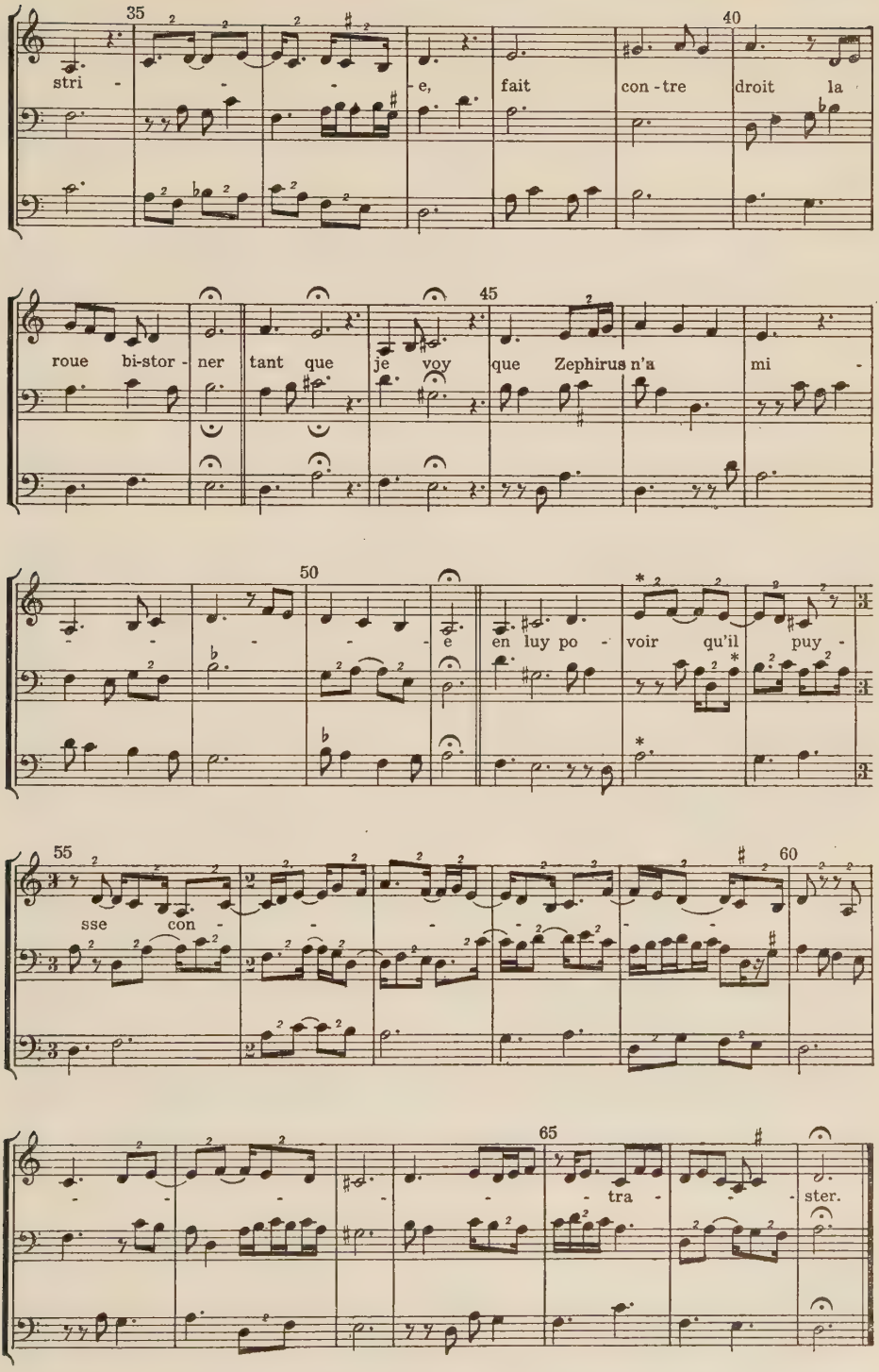
Le mont Aön de Trace, doulz païs
ou resonnent les douçours d'armonie,
a en sa court IX dames de haut pris
qui de beauté tienent la seygnorie;
la tient Phébus son sejour,
quar d'elles vient sens, bien et toute honour
dont cuer d'amant se doit esjoïr
se leur amour il povoit acquerir.

Les poetes qui furent tant soubtiz
mirent leurs et tout leur estudie
a bien savoir les amourex delis
de Libefrois, la fontayne jolie
ou ces dames nuit et jour
font chapeaux de noble atour
des quels avoir n'i pourra nuls fayllir
se leur amour il povoit acquerir.

La gist mes cuers qui est tres ententis
au doulz acors de la grant melodie,
voir tant plaisants certes qu'il m'est avis
riens ne me soit de ma grief malcedie;
et si scay bien qu'a mon tour
trouveray Foy, Pais, Loyauté, Amour
en cil qui scet toutes dames servir
se leur amour il povoit acquerir.

3

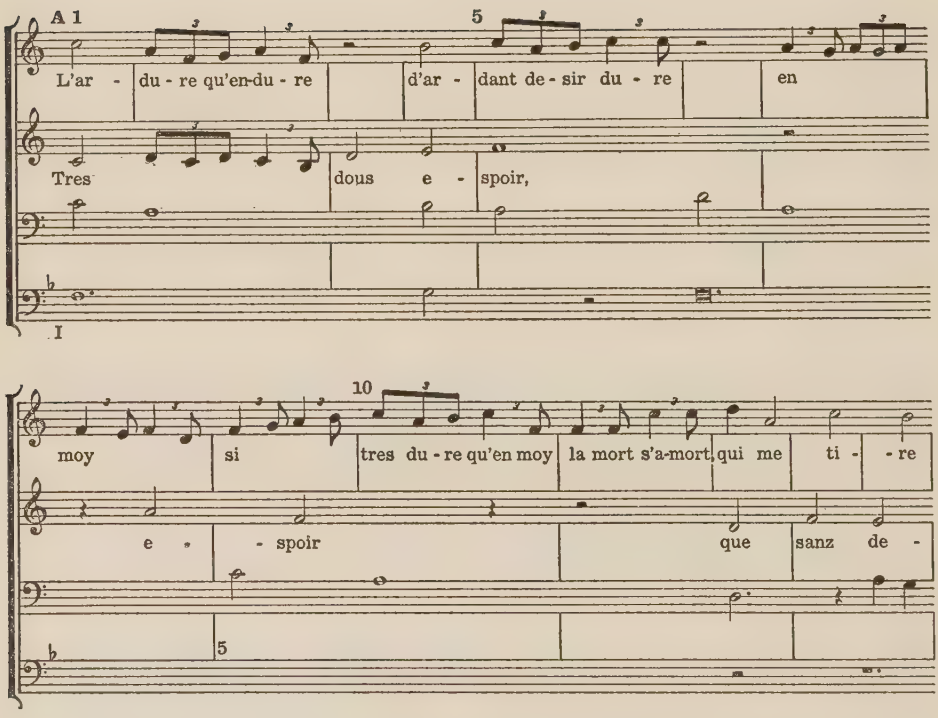
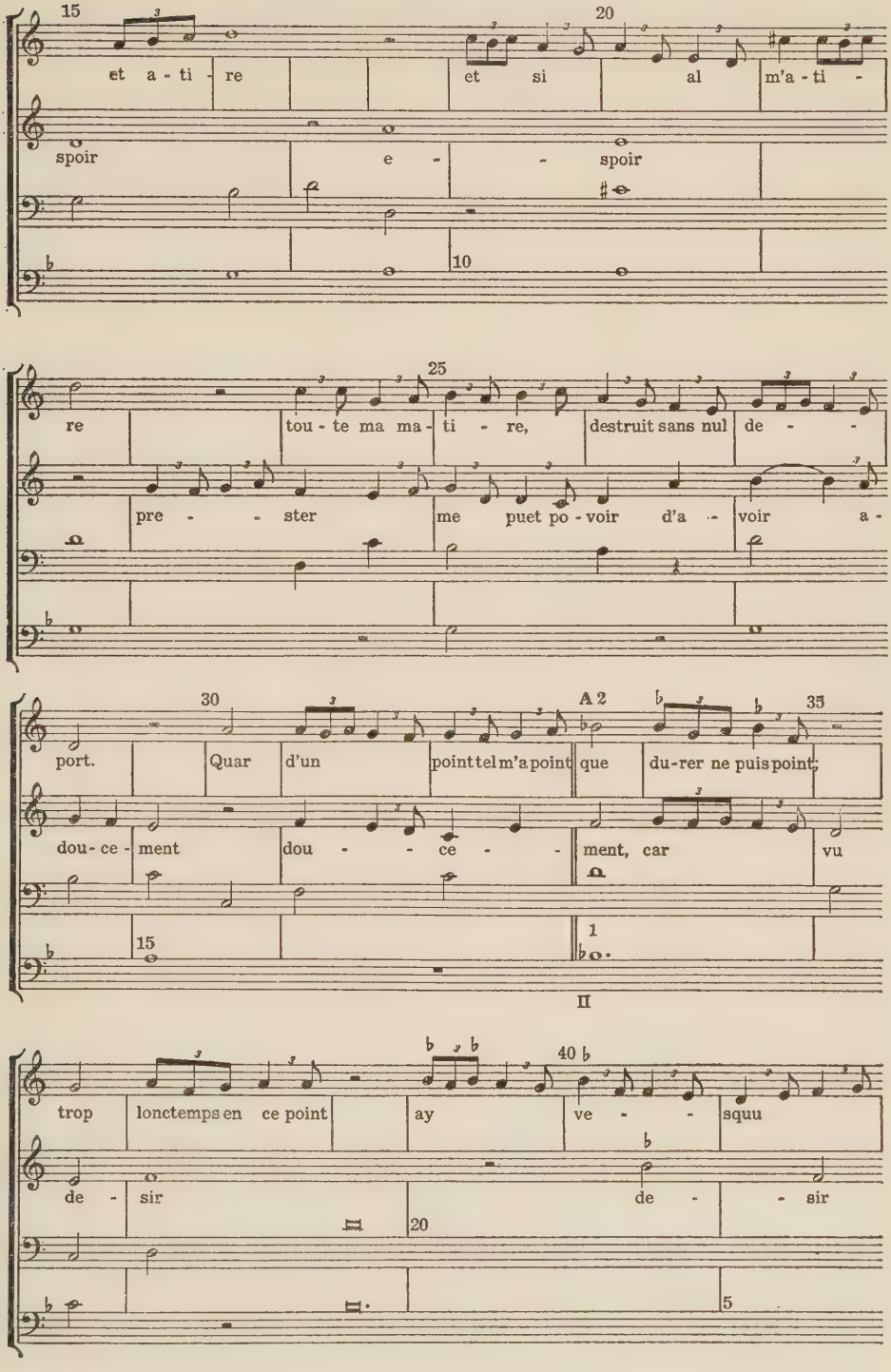

En Al - bi - on de fluns en - vi - ron -
mes roy Mi - nos à sa cort con - dam -
- né - e me - ne An-the - -us u - ne tres no - ble
- pné - e, qu'a fait ve - nir Le - ci - dai - ye et Hé -
vi - - - - - - - -
li - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - e,
e e Da - li - da, par sa su - til me -
5
10
15
20
25
30
1
2

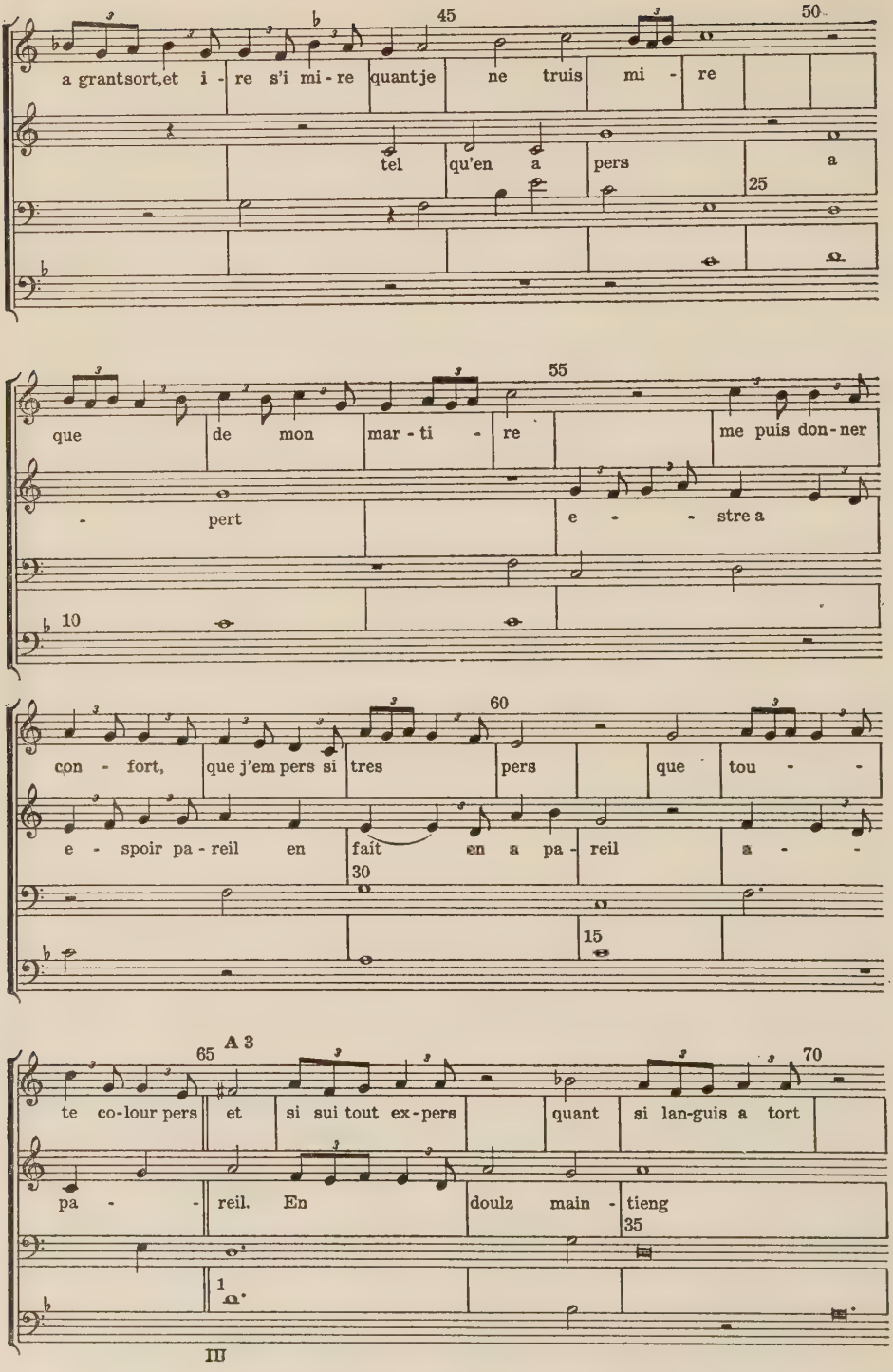

35
stri - - - - e, fait con - tre droit la
40
roue bi-stor - ner tant que je voy que Zephirus n'a mi -
45
50
e en luy po - voir qu'il puy -
55
sse con -
60
65
tra - ster.

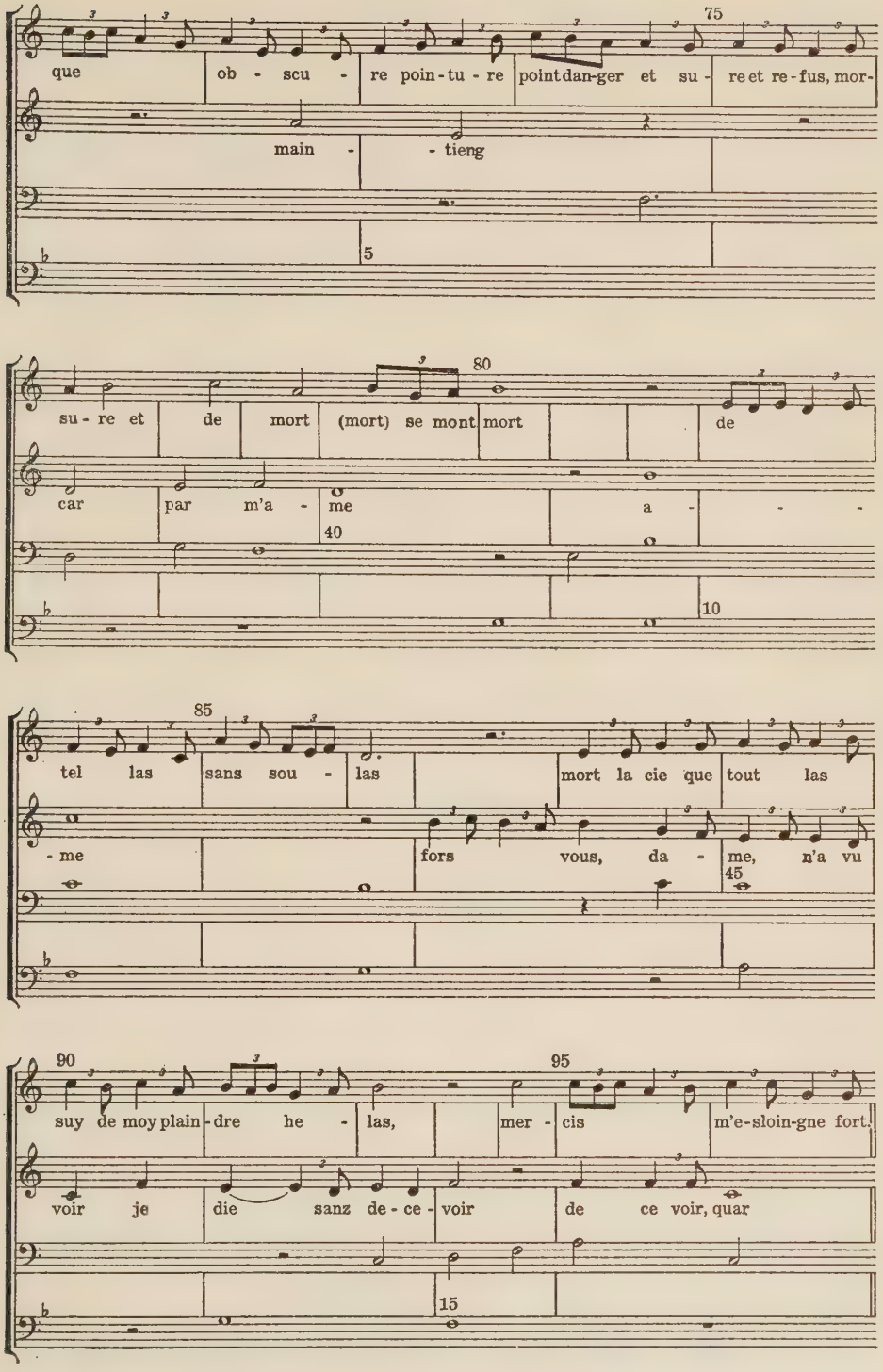
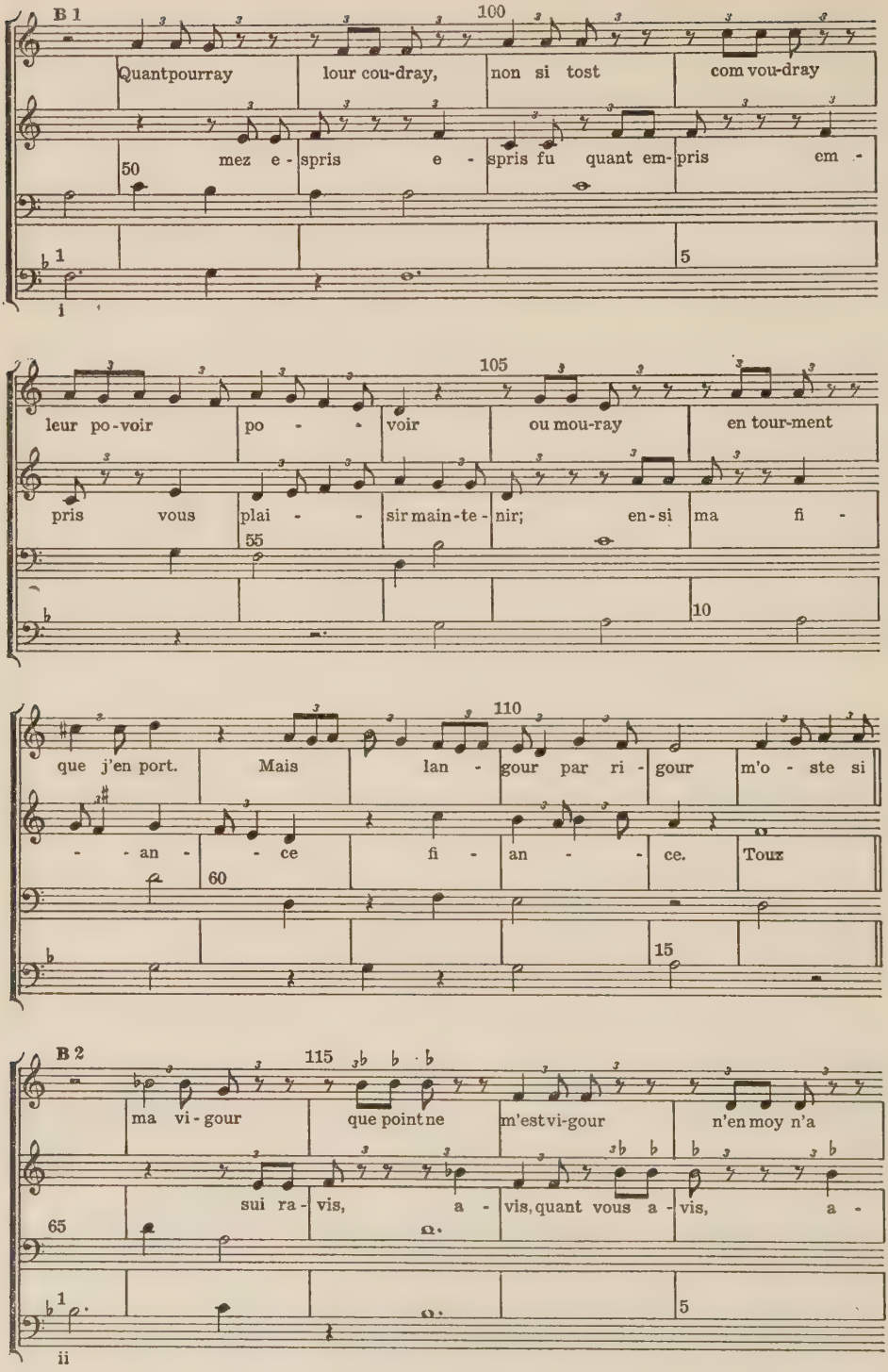
3

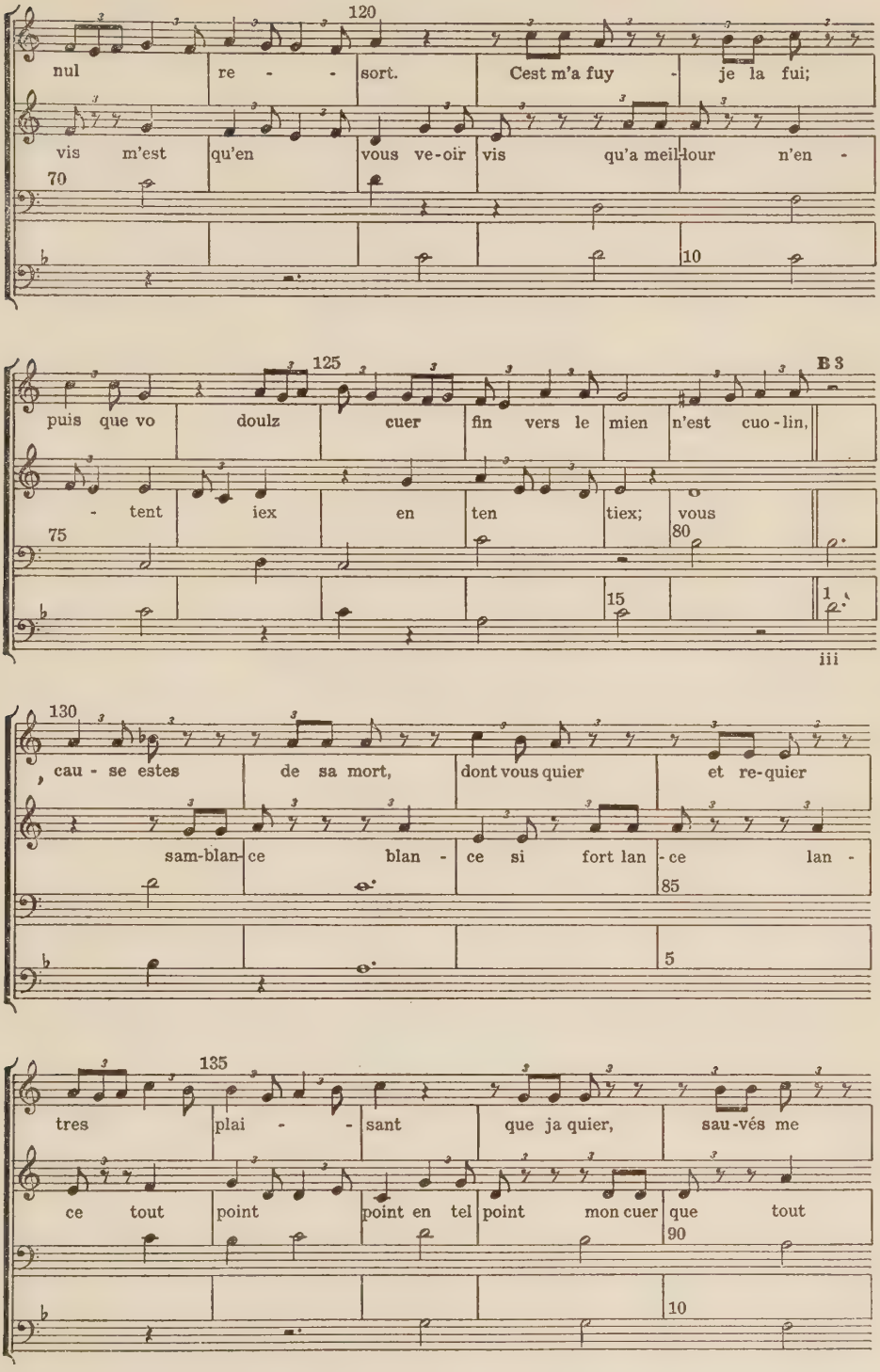
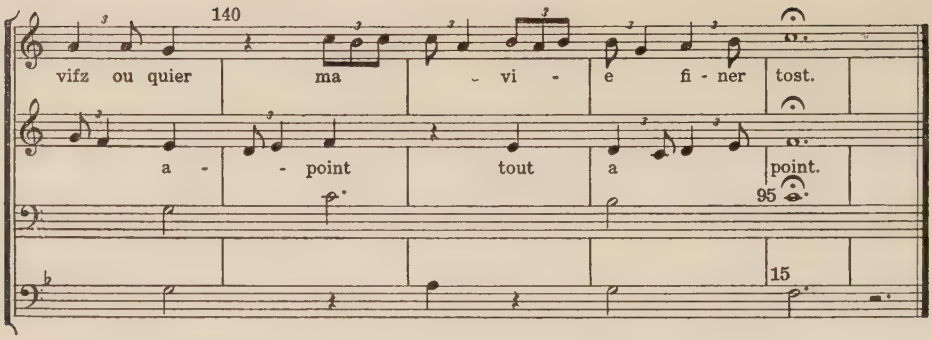
En Albion de fluns environnée
mene Antheus une tres noble vie,
mes roy Minos a sa cort condampnée
qu'a fayt venir Lucidaiye et Hélie
e Dalida, par sa sutil mestrie,
fait contre droit la roue bistorner
tant que je voy que Zephirus n'a mie
en luy povoir qu'il puisse contraster.

4


A 1
L'ar - du - re qu'en-du - re d'ar - dant de - sir du - re en
Tres dous e - spoir,
I
moy si tres du - re qu'en moy la mort s'a-mort qui me ti - - re
e - spoir que sanz de -

15
et a - ti - re
20
et si al m'a - ti -
spoir
e - - spoir
10
25
re
tou - te ma ma - ti - re,
destruit sans nul de - -
pre - - ster
me puet po - voir d'a - voir a -
30
A 2
35
port.
Quar d'un point tel m'a point que du-rer ne puis point;
dou - ce - ment
dou - - ce - - ment, car vu
15
1
II
trop lonc temps en ce point
ay ve - - squu
40
de - sir
de - - sir
II
20
II.
5


45
50
a grantsort,et i - re s'i mi - re quantje ne truis mi - re
tel qu'en a pers a
25
55
que de mon mar - ti - re me puis don - ner
- pert e - - stre a
10
60
con - fort, que j'em pers si tres pers que tou - -
e - spoir pa - reil en fait en a pa - reil a - -
30
15
65
A 3
70
te co-lour pers et si sui tout ex-pers quant si lan-guis a tort
pa - - reil. En doulz main - tieng
35
1
III


que ob - scu - re poin-tu - re point dan-ger et su - re et re-fus, mor-
main - - tieng
car par m'a - me a - - -
su - re et de mort (mort) se mont mort de
tel las sans sou - las mort la cie que tout las
- me fors vous, da - me, n'a vu
suy de moy plain-dre he - las, mer - cis m'e-sloin-gne fort.
voir je die sanz de-ce-voir de ce voir, quar

B 1
100
Quantpourray lour cou-dray, non si tost com vou-dray
50
mez e - spris e - spris fu quant em- pris em -
1
5
i
105
leur po-voir po - - voir ou mou-ray en tour-ment
pris vous plai - - sir main-te - nir; en-si ma fi -
55
10
110
que j'en port. Mais lan - gour par ri - gour m'o - ste si
- - an - - ce fi - an - - ce. Toux
60
15
B 2
115
ma vi - gour que point ne m'est vi-gour n'en moy n'a
sui ra - vis, a - vis, quant vous a - vis, a -
65
1
5
ii


120
nul re - - sort. Cest m'a fuy - je la fui;
vis m'est qu'en vous ve-oir vis qu'a meil-lour n'en -
70
10
125
B 3
puis que vo doulz cuer fin vers le mien n'est cuo-lin,
- tent iex en ten tiex; vous
75
80
15
1
iii
130
cau - se estes de sa mort, dont vous quier et re-quier
sam-blan-ce blan - ce si fort lan - ce lan -
85
5
135
tres plai - - sant que ja quier, sau-vés me
ce tout point point en tel point mon cuer que tout
90
10

4a

L'ardure qu'endure
d'ardant desir dure
en moy si tres dure
qu'en moy la mort s'amort,
qui me tire et atire
et si mal m'atire
toute ma matire,
destruit sans nul deport.
Quar d'un point tel m'a point
que durer ne puis point;
trop lonctemps en ce point
ay vesquu a grant sort,
et ire s'i mire
quant je ne truis mire
que de mon martire
me puis donner confort,
que j'em pers si tres pers
que toute colour pers
et si sui tout expers
quant si languis a tort
que obscure pointure
point danger et sure
et refus, morsure
et de mort semont mort
de tel las sans soulas
mort la cie que tout las
suy de moy plaindre — helas,
mercis m'esloigne fort.

Quant pourray lour coudray,
non si tost com voudray,
leur povoir ou mouray
en torment que j'en port.
Mais langour par rigour
m'oste si ma vigour
que point ne m'est vigour
n'en moy n'a nul resort.
Cest m'a fuy — je la fui;
puis que vo doulz cuer fin
vers le mien n'est cuolin,
cause estes de sa mort,
dont vous quier et requier,
tres plaisant que ja quier,
sauvés me vifz ou quier
ma vie finer tost.

4b

Tres dous espoir, espoir
que sanz despoir espoir
prester me puet povoir
d'avoir adoucement
doucement,
car vu desir desir
tel qu'en a pers apert
estre a espoir pareil
en fait en a pareil
apareil.
En doulz maintieng maintieng
car par m'ame ame
fors vous, dame, n'a vu voir
je die sanz decevoir
de ce voir,
quar mez espris espris
fu quant empris empris
vous plaisir maintenir;
ensi ma fiance
fiance.
Touz sui ravis, avis,
quant vous avis, avis
m'est qu'en vous veoir vis
qu'a meillour n'entent iex
en ten tiex;
vous samblance blance
si fort lance lance:
tout point point en tel point
mon cuer que tout apoint
tout a point.

HAUT AND BAS: THE GROUPING OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

EDMUND A. BOWLES

In this age of specialization we have naturally come to think of musical instruments as belonging to families of the same species, all having like characteristics. This division according to type (string, reed, or woodwind, brass and percussion) was revised and, as it were, broken down by musicologists and ethnologists working together into groups of sub-species according not only to type, but to method of producing sound as well [1]. It may seem strange to the concert-goer of today, who sees the orchestra conveniently displayed in four so-called family sections, to envisage an entirely different system of grouping musical instruments. Such was the case, however, during the later Middle Ages.

Three conditions led to the full development of the medieval orchestra. First, the abandonment of the simple Greco-Roman instruments which began during the Carolingian era led to the development of new instrument forms. Second, the development of polyphony gave musical instruments added roles by increasing the number of parts potentially available. Third, the emancipation of instruments as mere substitutes for, or as aids to, the singers in the Gothic period meant the increased growth of secular instrumental forms. It is actually in the thirteenth century that for the first time is found documentary evidence of pure instrumental music which must have been developing for some time [2].

This development took place in the secular centers throughout Europe. The settings were the many courts of kings, nobles, and feudal lords. The participants were at first the troubadours and trouvères, traveling from place to place with their heroic sagas and love songs, their entertainers and musicians. The troubadour seldom performed his own music. The

[1] The classical system was first established in 1914 by Drs. Erich von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs. Based largely on acoustical principles, the grouping included idiophones (concussion instruments), aerophones (wind instruments), membranophones (drums), and cordophones (stringed instruments).

[2] Théodore Gérold, „Les Instruments de musique au moyen âge", *Revue des Cours et Conferences,* (XXIX) 1938, 235.

jongleur did this, in addition to many other feats of diversion [3]. Later the minstrels assumed the role of musical performers, singing songs and accompanying themselves on some instrument. Always a welcome guest, the minstrel sought employment at town and castle alike. During Lent, when secular entertainment of all kind was curtailed, the minstrels from all over Europe would gather together at „schools" to exchange the latest songs and the newest musical instruments [4]. Outside of the so-called wandering minstrels, the musicians of the later Middle Ages were either attached to some feudal household (hence the Latin *ministrallus,* or „household attendant") or employed by a city or town [5]. The court minstrels figured among the regular servants, and their expenses, including money to buy instruments, were recorded in the lord's account books. Some of them indeed became a steady companion to their master [6]. The civic minstrels (known as *waits* in England) received fixed fees, wore the town livery and a silver badge. They performed at all local celebrations, festivals, and the like [7].

[3] An interesting account of the attainments of these jacks-of-all trades is cited in Howard D. McKinney and W. R. Anderson, *Music in History* (Boston: 1940), p. 170.

> I can play the lute, vielle, pipe, bagpipe, panpipes, harp, fiddle, guittern, symphony, psaltery, organistrum, organ, tabor, and the rote. I can sing a song well, and make tales to please young ladies, and can play the gallant for them if necessary. I can throw knives into the air and catch them without cutting my fingers. I can jump rope most extraordinary and amusing. I can balance chairs, and make tables dance. I can somersault, and walk doing a handstand.

Many poems stress both the familiarity on the part of the jongleur with musical instruments, and the amazing number at his command. One of the most interesting sources is the poem *Fadet Joglar,* by Guiraut de Calançon (1210). See Wilhelm Keller. „Das Sirventes ‚Fadet Joglar' des Guiraut von Calanzo", *Romanische Forschungen,* XXII (1906), 144 f.

[4] J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life,* tr. Lucy Smith (New York: 1950), p. 103.

[5] „They wandered at their will from castle to castle, and in time from borough to borough, sure of their ready welcome alike in the village tavern, the guildhall, and the baron's keep. They sang and jested in the market-place, stopping cunningly at a critical moment in the performance to gather their harvest of small coins from the bystanders. In the great castles, while the lords and ladies supped, or sat around the fire, it was theirs to while away many a long bookless evening with courtly *geste* or witty sally. At wedding or betrothal, baptism or knight-dubbing, treaty or tournament, their presence was indispensable. The greater festivities saw them literally in their hundreds, and rich was their reward in money and in jewels, in costly garments, and in broad acres. They were licensed vagabonds, with free right of entry into the presence-chambers of the land", E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (London: 1903), I, 44 f.

[6] E. Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au moyen âge* (Paris: 1910), p. 104.

[7] Chambers, *Op. Cit.,* I, 51.

It must be remembered that the medieval orchestra had a greater variety of instruments than that of today. Beginning with the era of the Crusades, the number of instruments increased many times over. The great influence of both Arabic and Byzantine musical culture was felt in the introduction of both new forms, such as cymbals, nakers, several lutes and guitars, struck psalteries, and leather horns. The instruments were all grouped into families, each with its members corresponding roughly to the natural human vocal ranges [8].

The bewildering number of instruments is noted by the contemporary observer John Lydgate, a monk of Bury Saint Edmunds [9].

Eke Instrumentys high and lowe
Wel mo than I koude knowe,
That I suppose, there is no man
That aryght reherse kan
The melodye that they made.

Contemporary poetry abounds with enumerations of the many different ones used. For example, the court musicians in the *Roman de Brut,* by Wace (ca. 1155) play songs, rotruenges, vocal accompaniments, lays, and instrumental notae on vielles, rotes, harps, panpipes, lyres, dulcimers, shawms, hurdy-gurdies, psalteries, trumscheits, cymbals, and citharas [10].

Mult ot a la cort jugleors
Chanteors, estrumenteors,
Mut poïssies oïr chançons,
Rotruenges et noviax sons,
Vieleurs de lais et de notes,
Lais de vieles, lais de rotes,
Lais de harp et de fretiax,
Lyre, tympres et chalemiax,
Symphonies, psalterions,
Monocordes, cymbes, chorons.

Erec et Enide, by Chrestien de Troyes, includes twelve of the most common instruments: harp, rote, rebec, vielle, flute, shawm, drums, bagpipe, recorder, panpipes, and clarions [11].

[8] Henri Lavoix, *La Musique au siècle de Saint Louis* (Paris: 1883), p. 316 f.
[9] Lydgate's *Reason and Sensuallyte,* ed. Ernst Sieper (London: 1901), I, 146 f.
[10] *Le Roman de Brut,* ed. Leroux de Lincy, II (Rouen: 1838), 111 f.
[11] Théodore Gérold, *Histoire de la musique des origines à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: 1936), p. 400.

Cil sert de harp, cil de rote
Cil de gigue, cil de viele
Cil de flaüste, cil chalemele
Sonent timbre, sonent tabor
Muses, estives et fretel
Et buisines et chalemel.

In one of the better known poems by Guillaume de Machault, the *Remede de Fortune,* a long list of musical instruments is given. Through the author's fancy they are all heard being performed together. However, they were all in contemporary use [12].

Viële, rubebe, guiterne,
Leü, morache, michanon,
Citole et le psalterion,
Harpe, tabour, trompes, naquaires,
Orgues, cornes, plus de dis paires,
Cornemuses, flajos, chevrettes,
Douceinnes, simbales, clochettes,
Tymbre, la flaüste brehaingne,
Et le grant cornet d'Alemaingne,
Flajos de saus, fistule, pipe,
Muse d'Aussay, trompe petite
Buisines, eles, monocorde
Ou il n'a c'une seule corde,
Et muse de blef tout ensemble.

The fifteenth century chronicler Jean Molinet in his *La naufrage de la Pucelle,* gives the reader a complete medieval orchestra: harps, organs, vielles, psalteries, lutes, nakers, shawms, virginals, cymbals, hurdy-gurdies, bagpipes, cromorne, drums, rebecs, hand-bells, timbrels, flutes, guitars, trumpets, clarions, barrel-shaped drums, struck harps, fifes, bells, cornets, trumscheits, and ten-string psalteries [13].

Instead of being divided into pairs, as is the usual case in the modern orchestra, each medieval instrument was grouped in a family of many different sizes. However, the important fact for our consideration is not the variegated list of instruments, but the musical esthetics of the age. The emphasis was upon the volume of sound produced, as well as the robustness of tone. In general, the more noise, the more the instrumental combination was generally admired and enjoyed in festive gatherings.

It was this esthetic tendency to think of instruments in terms of volume

[12] Guillaume de Machault, *Oeuvres,* ed. Ernest Hoepffner (Paris: 1911), II, 145 f.

[13] *Les Faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet,* ed. Noël Dupire (Paris: 1936), p. 89 f.

that led to the dual grouping according to sonority; those instruments with a loud, shrill tone color (*haut*), and those whose sound was soft, or low (*bas*). Specific documentation of this is to be found in the letters-patent received from King Charles VI of France by the Confraternity of Saint Julian and Saint Genesius at Paris [14]. That the musicians of this band were grouped according to the sonority of their respective instruments is evident from the document itself: [15]

> Menestrels, joueurs d'instruments, tant hauts que bas.

A few years later, in 1407, the king granted letters-patent to the guild of Parisian city musicians. Again, the distinction between *haut* and *bas* is recognized [16].

> Nous avons reçeu l'umble suppliçacion du roy des ménestriers et des autres ménestriers, joueurs d'instrumens tant haulx comme bas, en la ville, viconté, et dyocese de Paris et des autres de nostre royaume...

Not only civic performers, but court musicians were so grouped. In the description of the household of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (1396-1467) the chronicler Olivier de la Marche writes that [17]

> Le duc a six haulz menestrelz, qui par l'ung d'eulx six sont gouvernés, et portent les armes du prince, et sont comptez par les escroez comme les trompettes; le duc a quatre joueurs de bas instruments pareillement comptez...

A cursory glance at medieval literature reveals that many authors followed the established classification when mentioning musical instruments. The thirteenth century poem, *Li Roumans de Cléomadès,* by the troubadour Adenez le Roi, mentions vielles, psalteries, harps, rotes, rectangular psalteries, bagpipes, guitars, lutes, pipes, and rebecs in one group, and then speaks of instruments which make much more noise, including copper field-trumpets and drums [18]).

[14] Saint Genesius was the patron-saint of jongleurs. The Confraternity itself was actually established between 1328 and 1335. Chambers, *Op. Cit.,* II, 259.

[15] Hans Schletterer, *Geschichte der Spielmannskunst in Frankreich* („Studien zur Geschichte der französischen Musik", II) (Berlin: 1885), p. 96.

[16] B. Bernhard, „Recherches sur l'histoire de la corporation des ménétriers ou joueurs d'instruments de la ville de Paris", *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes,* IV (1842-43), 526.

[17] *Mémoires,* ed. Beaune and d'Arbaumont (Paris: 1888), IV, 71.

[18] *Li Roumans de Cléomadès,* ed. André van Hasselt (Brussels: 1865), p. 91.

Viëlles et salterions,
Harpes et rotes et canons
Et estives de Cornouaille...
On lui avoit guintarieurs,
Et si avoit bons leüteurs,
Et des flaüteurs de Behaingne,
Et des gigueöurs d'Alemaigne

* **

Tabours et cors sarrazinois.

The author of another poem, *Floriant et Florete,* divides his musicians into two groups, loud and soft. In the former are musicians who „are going to stir up too much gaiety," with buisines, shawms, horns, and drums. In the latter category are those players who perform on rotes, vielles, psalteries, citoles, harps, bagpipes, and hurdy-gurdies [19].

Salteres et citoles beles,
Harpes de cor et armonies,
Et estives et chiphonies.

Jean Lefebvre de Resson, in his *Respit de la mort* (1376), exhibits a less formal grouping, but nevertheless implies the same system. First he lists organs, vielles, harps, and psalteries, followed by bagpipes, shawms, bombards, trumpets, and drums [20].

We are fortunate in being able to turn to several sources for a specific listing of *haut* and *bas* instruments. The anonymous author of the *Echecs amoureux* defines the loud group [21].

On sonnoit lez haulz instrumens,
Que mieulx au dansez plaisoient
La peuist on oïr briefment
Sonner moult de renoisement
Pour la grant noise qu'ilz faisient
Trompez, tabours, tymbrez, naquaires,
Cymballes (dont il n'est mes guaires)
Cornemusez et chalemelles
Et cornes de fachon moult belles

Johannes Tinctoris, in his treatise *De Inventione et Usu Musicae* (Book

[19]) *Floriant et Florete, a Metrical Romance of the Fourteenth Century,* ed. Francisque Michel (Edinburgh: 1873), p. 214.

[20] André Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVIe* (Paris: 1940), p. 10.

[21] Hermann Abert, „Die Musikästhetik der Echecs amoureux", *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft,* VI (1904-05), 354 f.

III), states that „when all these instruments (i.e. shawm, bombard, bagpipe) are played together, it is called loud music [22].

As to the low instruments, Eustache Deschamps mentions the most common ones in his poem *Ballade pour Machaut* [23].

Rubebes, leuths, vielles, symphonie,
Psalterions, trestous instrumens coys
Rothes, guiterne, flaustes, chalemie,
Traversaines . . .

Again, the *Echecs amoureux* speaks of flutes, cromornes, „and other such soft instruments" employed for interludes when „less noise" was wanted. These low instruments, „very soft and wholesome", were pleasing for the appropriate entertainment [24].

Et puis aultrefois reprenoient,
Quant mendre noise demandoient,
Flasoz, fleutez et douchaines,
Qui sont moult doulces et saines,
Et telz autrez instrumens bas
Dont moult est plaisans li esbas.
La ouist on sonner vielles
Et harpes excellentment
Et psalterions ensement,
Ghisternez, rebeblez et rotez,
Qui faisoient moult doulcez nottez,
Leuz qui sont de plus grant ton,
Orguez en main y oist on
Et citoles meismement,
Qui sonnoient moult doucement
Chyffonyes et monocordes . . .

Thus we have a rather complete listing of the musical instruments in both the groupings of *haut* and *bas*. The loud category included the bombard (bass shawm), buisine (clarion), chalumeau (reed pipe), cornamuse (bagpipe), cymbals, drums, horns, and trumpets. The soft instruments comprised the cithara, douçaine (cromorne), flageolet (recorder), flute, guitar, harp, hurdy-gurdy, lute, trumscheit (monochord), panpipes, psaltery, rebec, rote (~~erwth~~), and vielle.

Let us review the respective sonorities of these instruments. Turning

[22] Anthony Baines, „Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris's De Inventione et Usu Musicae", *The Galpin Society Journal,* III (1950), 21.

[23] *Oeuvres complètes,* ed. A. Queux de St. Hilaire, I (Paris: 1878), 245 f.

[24] Abert, *Op. Cit.,* p. 355.

to the *hauts instruments,* the buisine was a large trumpet of metal. In a majority of the medieval references to this instrument, its military employment is emphasized. This may be why Bessaraboff calls the buisine a herald's trumpet [25]. It was also used at weddings, festivals, and tournaments. Hung with a flag bearing the coat-of-arms of the feudal lord, the clarions were played by minstrels who belonged to his private retinue. The sound of this instrument is described as „bright", „noisy", or „loud" [26]. In the famous *Chanson de Roland* [27],

> Li amirailz at sa barbe fors mise,
> Altresi blanche come flor en espine;
> Coment que seit, ne s'i voelt celermie.
> Met a sa buche une clere buisine,
> Sonent la cler que si paien l'odirent,
> Par tot lo champs ses compaignes ralient.

Owing to its bore being narrower than that of the trumpet, the buisine sounded brighter and fresher. The high overtones could be produced with it. In the poem *Willehalm,* the tone is described as being „shattering" [28].

> Von pusînen galme
> Was vor im groz gesnarren.

The chalumeau, or shawm, was one of the three reed-blown types of instruments used during the Middle Ages. It was manufactured of wood, with either a willow or a boxwood reed. The shawm was an especial favorite in France. We find it mentioned in accounts of jousts, banquets, weddings, rural gatherings, and, curiously enough, used by watchmen and tower-guards at medieval castles [29]. Thus, to serve as a warning or signal instrument, its tone must have been loud and penetrating. The Burgundian chronicler Jean Molinet referred to shawms as „. . . enlèverent melodie tant extreme et fort haulte . . ." [30] The bombard, or bass shawm, had a very deep and piercing tone [31].

[25] Nicholas Bessaraboff, *Ancient European Musical Instruments* (Boston: 1940), p. 188.

[26] Fritz Brucker, „Die Blasinstrumente in der altfranzösischen Literatur", *Giessener Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie,* XIX (1926), 18.

[27] *Le Chanson de Roland,* ed. T. A. Jenkins (Boston: 1924), p. 243 f.

[28] Edward Buhle, *Die musikalischen Instrumente in den Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters* (Leipzig: 1903), I, 30.

[29] Brucker, *Op. Cit.,* p. 45.

[30] A. van der Linden, „La Musique dans les chroniques de Jean Molinet", in *Mélanges Ernest Closson* (Brussels: 1948), pp. 178-180.

[31] Gérold, *Op. Cit.,* p. 743.

Among the drum family were the timbrel (tambourine), tambour (an elongated cylindrical drum), and the naker (a small kettledrum). The timbrel, together with the fife, was one of the most popular instruments in use during the Middle Ages [32]. It was a frequent combination at banquets and tournaments. Timbrels were used in conjunction with trumpets and field drums to make lots of noise outdoors. In the Histoire de l'Empereur Henri, by Henri de Valençiennes, we read [33]

> ... Et si grant tumulte de tymbres, de tabors, et de trompes, ke toute li terre en tramploit.

An interesting description is furnished by Christine de Pisan in the account of a tournament in her poem *Le Livre du duc des vrais amants* [34].

> Menestrelz, trompes, naquaires
> Y avoit plus de troys paires
> Qui si haultment cournoyent
> Que mons et vaulx resonnoyent.

The tambour, or field drum, was employed in battle, at tournaments, during mealtimes, festivals, dances, mystery-plays, and for triumphal entries. Johannes de Grocheo wrote that „it is possible that such an instrument moves men's souls more due to its deep sonority, as in fetes and tournaments" [35]. That its sound was strong and penetrating is obvious from a statement in the poem *Li Roumans de Cléomadès* to the effect that the drums and horns were placed outside the palace entrance when played because they made too much noise [36].

> Et, quant il avoient mengié
> Entour la table et soulacié
> A dont leur feste commençoit.
> Plenté d'estruments y avoit:
>
> * * *
>
> Tabours et cors sarrazinois
> Y ot; mais cil erent as chans
> Pour ce que leur noise et trop grans.

[32] Lavoix, *Op. Cit.*, p. 339.

[33] Frederick Dick, „Bezeichnungen für Saiten- und Schlaginstrumente in der altfranzösischen Literatur", *Giessener Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie,* XXV (1932), 138.

[34] *Le Livre du duc des vrais amants,* ed. Maurice Roy, III (Paris: 1896), 79.

[35] Gérold, *Op. Cit.*, p. 741.

[36] *Op. Cit.*, I, 91.

The naker was a kettledrum; actually a bowl of leather or brass over which was streched a piece of animal skin. These drums were very small in size, being carried at the waist from a belt. In 1309, Joinville, the chronicler of the Crusades, wrote of the infidels that [37]

> La noise que il menoient de leurs naquaires et de leurs cors sarrazinois estoit espouventable a escouter.

Some thirty-odd years later, Jean Froissart recorded that nakers were among the instruments used at the triumphal entry of King Edward III into Calais during the Hundred Years' War [38]. Horn signals, shrill trumpet calls, and thundering nakers were employed during battles to indicate attack and also to instill fear into the hearts of the enemy [39].

> Et qui en ce tumulte pour donner encore plus grand effroy, faisoient de tous costez sonner leurs cors grailles, nacaires et trompettes, pour monstrer que tout le corps de leur armée estoient là present.

But the kettledrum was also employed as an orchestral instrument for festive music, dances, and banquet concerts. As remarked before, the medieval listener usually preferred loud music, and the drums satisfied this craving. Their sound is aptly described in the *Parfait du Paon* [40].

> ... Tabours, naquaires et font tel tambourrie
> Que ciel et bos et yaue et li airs enfourmie,
> Li mur en retentissent ...

The horn was a large, almost man-sized instrument, which was thin and slightly curved. Its earliest use in battle had been in the form of an animal horn, or oliphant. By the Gothic period it had evolved into a metal instrument, its strong tones serving as both a signal and morale factor. For example, in the poem *Annolied,* in describing a battle [41],

> Noch hoeret ein anderen sturmschal
> Von unserm herhorne tiezzen.

Horns were the loudest and most resounding instruments that the Middle Ages knew. Their sound must have been impressive, to say the least [42].

[37] *Histoire de Saint Louis,* ed. Natilis de Wailly (Paris: 1874), p. 98.
[38] Bessaraboff, *Op. Cit.,* p. 33.
[39] Dick, *Op. Cit.,* p. 142.
[40] *Ibid,* p. 127.
[41] Buhle, *Op. Cit.,* p. 18.
[42] *Loc. Cit.*

Nû nâhent ez dem strîte;
Der helt ûz sturmlant
Begunde ein horn blasen,
Daz manz über sant
Wol von sinen kreften
Hôrte drîzic mîle.

The „king of instruments" was the trumpet. Following the old eastern social privileges, only emperors, kings, nobles, and prominent municipalities in Europe had the right to maintain trumpeters. Consequently, the trumpeters themselves formed an exclusive guild, or profession. They always traveled in the retinue of their lord, playing fanfares at entries into towns, providing dinner music, and standing behind their master's chair at beck-and-call [43]. There were two forms. The smaller trumpet was an „s" shaped instrument, with a clear, ringing tone. Owing to its narrower tube, its sound was brighter than that of the trumpet proper. Etymologically, the small trumpet, or *trompette,* was called *grêle* in Old French, which meant „shrill," or „sharp" [44]. The larger trumpet, about three feet long, was used largely in military formations and for fanfares during feudal processions [45]. Cuvelier, in his *Chronique de Bertrand du Gueslin,* says that during battle, the trumpeters blew loudly enough to awaken the dead, and that the hero [46]

Bertrand du Gueslin ot sa trompette devant
Qui moult hardiement s'ala devant boutant,
Qui prist si a sonner et d'un voix si grant
Qu'il n'i avoit si sourt ne le voist escoutant;
L'assamblée cornèrent haultement en oiant;

Turning now to some of the more important *bas* instruments, the cithara and its smaller mate, the citole, were guitar-like in form, with an elongated, pear-shaped body, short neck, and four wire strings. They were usually played by the jongleur and minstrel, using a plectrum. In court orchestras the cithara and citole were associated especially with the harp, vielle, and guitar [47]. They were used for caroling, or dancing, by court ladies, as is mentioned in the *Roman de Renart* [48].

[43] Curt Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments* (New York: 1940), p. 280 f.

[44] Brucker, *Op. Cit.,* p. 15.

[45] Francis Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music* (London: 1910), p. 201 f.

[46] *Chronique de Bertrand du Gueslin,* ed. Ernest Charrière (London: 1910), p. 201 f.

[47] Galpin, *Op. Cit.,* p. 27.

[48] Rowland Wright, *Dictionnaire des instruments de musique* (London: 1941), p. 33.

Harpes i sonent et vielles
Qui font les melodies beles,
Les estives et les citoles
Les damoiselles font caroles.

Their tone quality was described as being very soft [49].

Et citoles meisement
Qui sonnoit moult doulcement.

The douçaine, or cromorne, was a reed instrument in the shape of a crook. As its name implies (Old French *douçenne*) it had a soft sonority. The author of the *Echecs amoureux* notes that when less noise was desired, „recorders, flutes, and cromornes" were played [50].

Most of the flutes played in the Middle Ages were of the end-blown type, either flageolets (recorders) or whistle-flutes (pipes). These instruments were referred to frequently as being favored at courtly centers. For example, in *Dumars le Galois* [51],

Devant le roi sonent frestel
Et flahutes et chalemel,
Et des flajoz et des vieles
I sunt les melodies beles.

In the poem *Du métier profitable,* by Eustache Deschamps, is an interesting statement regarding the position of the recorder at that time [52].

Neantmoins, pour plus proufiter
Avoir argent, robe, heritage,
Compains, apran à flajoler.
Car princes oyent voluntiers
Le flajol; qui en aprendra
Advancez sera des premiers,
Puis que bien jouer en sçara;

This same author refers elsewhere to the „soft" sonority of this instrument [53]. Other sources say substantially the same thing, such as the poem *Tristan le menestrel* [54].

[49] Abert, *Op. Cit.,* p. 355.
[50] *Loc. Cit.*
[51] Edmund Stengel, „Dumars le Galois", *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart,* CXVI (1873), 215.
[52] *Oeuvres complètes,* VI, 128.
[53] *Ibid,* II, 35.
[54] Brucker, *Op. Cit.,* p. 33.

En sa main a pris un flagueil,
Molt dolcement en flajola.

Transverse, or side-blown flutes, on the other hand, were most favored in Germany (hence, *flauste d'Allemand*), and became widely used in a military connection. From the Crusades on, the fife and drum were the principal instruments of the infantry [55].

The harp, of all the indoor instruments, was held in the highest esteem; members of royal families and the feudal aristocracy played it. The jongleur or minstrel traveled with his small harp, which was carried on his back. The harpist was not an ordinary entertainer. He was a story-teller, and as such enjoyed a special regard. These bards were frequently mentioned in connection with heroic literature, and to *harper un lai* meant to sing a verse-tale accompanied by the harp. Guillaume de Machault wrote a poem entitled *Dit de le Harp,* in which he says [56]

Mais la harpe qui tout instrument passe
Quand sagement bien en joue et compasse,
A la harpe partout telle renommée,
Qu'autre douceur a li n'est comparée.

Although remembered as the instrument of the Renaissance *par excellence,* the lute was nevertheless popular during the Middle Ages as well. It was always an aristocratic instrument. John Lydgate, in his poem *Reason and Sensuallyte,* says that „lutys" were more fit for „estatys" (i.e. noblemen's houses) than for „taverns" [57]. The lute was widely used in courtly circles. Johannes Tinctoris wrote that „the lyre, which is called the lute, we use at feasts, dances, and public and private entertainments . . ." [58] Lutes were referred to as possessing a very soft and delicate tone quality, as in the *Vieil Testament* [59].

Psalterions, lutz et arquetes,
Harpes et tous instrumens doulx.

Eustache Deschamps calls the lute a quiet instrument [60].

Leuths . . . trestous instrumens coys

[55] Sachs, *Op. Cit.,* p. 287.
[56] Dick, *Op. Cit.,* p. 26.
[57] *Op. Cit.,* I, 146 f.
[58] Baines, *Op. Cit.,* p. 24.
[59] Dick, *Op. Cit.,* p. 57.
[60] *Oeuvres complètes,* I, 245.

Islamic in origin, the psaltery was as frequently mentioned in medieval literature as was the harp. Etymologically, it was derived from the Greek word meaning „to pull and let go," or „to pluck." The psaltery first appeared in western Europe during the eleventh century [61]. It was a harp-like instrument, either rectangular or triangular in shape, held in the performer's lap. The earliest form of the psaltery, the *tympanon,* was the triangular form, with metal strings, and played with small sticks. During the Gothic period a rectangular or trapezoid form evolved, the *canon* (Arabic *qânûn*), with gut strings, played with a plectrum held in the left hand [62]. It was in this form that the psaltery assumed predominance in both France and Italy. In poetical references as well as in actual performance, the psaltery was associated with stringed instruments. The troubadours and wandering minstrels played it, and its popularity as vocal accompaniment is attested by the many feasts where the presence of a psaltery is documented. For example, it is featured in a twelfth century poem describing a coronation banquet of King Arthur, and in 1306, the actual Feast of Westminster had several psaltery-players present [63]. The church fathers saw in the structure of the psaltery many symbolic references, and in their allegorical commentaries established its primacy as a musical instrument. It „looked to heaven," and as Pope Gregory I wrote, was the best instrument with which to illustrate or express divine things [64].

The vielle was probably the most widespread and popular musical instrument throughout the Middle Ages. It had developed from the more primitive, pear-shaped rebec, and was first illustrated in a Greek manuscript illuminated in 1066 [65]. Beginning with three strings, the standard number became four, normally tuned G-g-d'-g' or G-d-a-e' (actually about one-half tone lower, since the modern pitch has been raised) [66]. The tone produced was deeper than that of the rebec, but is was still rather weak and quite nasal. The vielle was at first held vertically between the performer's legs, but later the smaller ones were held horizontally against the collarbone.

One of the most common uses of the vielle was in the service of divine worship. Whether within or without the church, whether as a supplement to the choir or as a substitute for voices, the vielle was always important. In 1316, Abbot Aimery du Peyrac of Moissac observed that the charm

[61] Bessaraboff, *Op. Cit.,* p. 211.
[62] Gérold, *Histoire de la musique,* p. 404.
[63] Galpin, *Op. Cit.,* p. 60 f.
[64] Theodore Gérold, *Les Pères de l'église et la musique* (Paris: 1931), p. 125 ff.
[65] Galpin, *Op. Cit.,* p. 86.
[66] Bessaraboff, *Op. Cit.,* p. 264.

of plainchant lost almost none of its sweetness when played on a vielle [67]. Indeed, the vielle seems to have been typed by some as a liturgical instrument, for the poet Eustache Deschamps wrote that [68]

Vielle est jeux pour les moustiers.

The musician in Gautier de Coincy's *Miracles de la Vierge* is reminiscent of the famous *Our Lady's Tumbler* [69].

Ma viële viëler vieut un biau son
De la bele qui seur toutes a biau non,
En cui Dieux devinir hon
Vont jadis
Dont chantent en paradis
Angle et arcangle a haut ton.

Johannes de Grocheo, the fourtheenth century theoretician and cleric, wrote about musical instruments that „the first place ought to go to the vielle" [70].

As one of the principal instruments of the jongleur and minstrel, the vielle was used for many types of musical accompaniment. It was employed both as a solo and as an accompanying instrument. It could play either the melody or a different part underlying the vocal line. Sometimes the performer would play both the vielle and sing at the same time [71]. The vielle served especially during the recital of stories, when part or all of the text was to be sung. The famous *chant-fable Aucassin et Nicolette* alternated prose sections with musically-accompanied poetry.

Some of the orchestral performances of the Middle Ages featured both loud and soft instruments. This was true for liturgical services, mystery plays, banquet festivities, and dances. The majority of these events displayed a rather rigid and invariable distinction between the two groupings. At some specific performances only the *haut* are heard, while at others, only the *bas* appear. This is quite apparent in much of the literature dealing with social events in particular. Hertzmann suggests that the former group served for ceremonial, *Gebrauchsmusik,* while the latter was more for „art" music [72]. The separation is seen, for example, in Part II of the

[67] Pirro, *Op. Cit.,* p. 20.

[68] *Oeuvres complètes,* IV, 127.

[69] Dick, *Op. Cit.,* p. 81.

[70] Charles van den Borren, „Quelques remarques sur les tendances esthétiques de la musique du moyen âge", *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique,* XIX (1937), 139.

[71] Gérold, „Les Instruments de musique", p. 364 ff.

[72] Erich Hertzmann, „Studien zur Basse-Danse im 15. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft,* XI (1929), 402.

Monologue des sotz joyeulx, entitled „Le preparatif du festin." Originating in the Feast of Fools, these burlesque scenes were performed by groups of celebrants, *sots,* who displayed their idiosyncracies or vices and parodied the liturgical service and priestly hierarchy. The monologue was usually recited by one of these actors [73].

> Le seigneur de Plaisance ordonne
> De la musicque et hault et bas.

It will be recalled that in the *Echecs amoureux* a passage stated that loud instruments were used for dances and festivities because of the great volume of sound they produced [74].

> Et quant il vouloient danser
> Et faire grans esbattemens,
> On sonnoit lez haulz instrumens,
> Pour mieulx aux dansez plaisoient
> Pour la grant noise qu'ilz faisoient.

The *Livre du duc des vrais amans,* by Christine de Pisan, mentions on one specific occasion that minstrels began to play wind instruments after supper, and provided the music for the ball that followed [75]. Another account describes a royal fête given by King Charles VI in 1393 at the Hotel St. Pol, where musicians of all sorts performed prior to the dancing [76].

> Pour la compaignie esjoir, on y sonnoit maint instruments, comme flahutes, tambourins, chalemies, harpes, vielles et bedons, et se y avoit grand mellodie de trompettes et de clarons... Au lever de la table, estoient les chantres de musique de la chapelle royale et les haux menestreux.

At such festivities, the musicians were normally placed on a high scaffold above the floor. This was true for both civic and courtly affairs. In the account-rolls of the court of Blois, it is recorded that on January 24, 1448, when the Duke of Orleans returned to his native city from England, twelve scaffolds were built, upon which various actors performed allegories, and one Oudin de St. Avry was sent for to direct the *haults*

[73] *Recueil de Poésies françoises,* ed. Anatole Montaiglon, III (Paris, 1856), 23. L. Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire du théâtre comique en France au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1886), p. 105 f.

[74] Abert, *Op. Cit.,* p. 354 f.

[75] André Pirro, *La Musique à Paris sous le règne de Charles VI* (Strasbourg, 1930), p. 22.

[76] *Ibid.,* p. 29.

menestrels who performed [77]. At the marriage of Philip the Good of Burgundy and Isabella of Portugal, instruments on a platform accompanied the dancers [78].

> Dedens la dicte salle, y avoit fait ung moult bel hourdys et hault sur l'un de des costez, la où les héraulx se tenoit pour regarder les estatz et pour cryer les festes. Et là jouoient les trompectes et menestreux pour danses. En icelluy eschaffault povoient bien entrer LX hommes.

At banquets the same procedure held true. Nicole de la Chesnaye, in the *Condemnacion des Banquetz,* writes that [79]

> Et a noter que sur l'eschaffault ou en quelque lieu plus hault seront les instrumens de diverses façons pour jouer et diversiffier quant temps sera.

Often, a raised gallery or scaffolding was erected permanently in the hall, opposite the place where the lord's dinner-table and dias were set [80].

Loud instruments were employed for the large courtly dances which were ever-popular with the feudal aristocracy. Lavish entertainments were held at the slightest pretext, and music naturally played a basic role in such festivities. Usually an impression was trying to be made; and the more noise the better. The *haut danse* was perhaps the most universal form of group entertainment in the Middle Ages as far as the nobility was concerned. The term itself was used by extension to signify a type of dance which employed the loud instruments. According to Antonio Cornazano's *Il Libro dell' arte del Danzare* (1455), it was a saltarello [81].

> El saltarello, come e dicto, si chiama
> a gli spagnoli alta dança . . .

In round-dances, with their varying sections, were found instruments with penetrating sonorities when performed by a large and noisy crowd of people. Füctrer's poem *Trojanischer Krieg* describes such a court dance [82].

[77] Léon de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne,* III (Paris, 1852), 450 f.

[78] Jean Lèfevre de St. Remi, *Chronique,* ed. François Morand (Paris, 1881), II, 160 f.

[79] Jeanne Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon* (Strasbourg, 1939), p. 51.

[80] Jusserand, *Op. Cit.,* p. 111.

[81] Hertzmann, *Op. Cit.,* p. 403.

[82] Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance* (New York, 1937), p. 283.

Ez wart nie schöner reige
Gemachet von deheiner schar,
Sie wunden sich dan unden dar
Und brâchen sich her unde hin.
Man hôrte lûten under in
Tambûren, schellen, pfîfen.
Lis uf den füezen slifen
Und dar nâch balde springen

The moresca and mummery were the most frequently mentioned dance-entertainments throughout the fifteenth century. For such noisy and spectacular extravaganzas, the use of loud instruments was mandatory. At festivals, banquets, balls, and masquerades, the moresca was almost always danced. It was an exotic court ballet with allegorical scenes, or tableaux interspersed (known as *entremets*), elaborate costumes, fancy disguises, masks, and bells attached to the participants' shoes. In the chronicles of Jean Lefèvre describing the festivities following the wedding of the count of Geneva and Anne of Cyprus, such a dance is mentioned [83].

> Et, le merquedy suivant ... il y eult dances esquelles y eult xviij chevaliers et escuiers vestus de robes de drap ganne, couvers de cloquettes, chapperons et robes tenans ensemble. Et avoient les chapperons grans oreilles, commes folz; et ainsi dansserent avec les dames.

Olivier de la Marche, major-domo to Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, devotes a considerable section of his memoires to the fabulous Feast of the Pheasant, held in February 1474 [84]. The musicians at this banquet were grouped together in two separate floats erected on the huge banquet-tables. Within a replica of a church, complete with stained-glass windows and a bell-tower, were four singers and an organist. Sweltering beneath the crust of a gigantic pastry pie on the next table were twenty-eight minstrels playing bagpipes, cornets, trumpets, lutes, cromornes, flutes, and drums. All the music at this feast was furnished alternately by these two groups [85]. At the conclusion of the affair a moresca was danced by twelve couples who had just participated in an allegorical play [86].

[83] *Op. Cit.*, II, 296 f.

[84] For a discussion of the loud and soft instruments employed at this feast, see the author's article, „Instruments at the Court of Burgundy (1363-1467)", *The Galpin Society Journal*, VI (July 1953), 41 ff.

[85] See Henri Quittard „Deux fêtes musicales au XVe et XVIe siècles", *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, VIII (1907), 464-467.

[86] Olivier de la Marche, *Op. Cit.*, II, 378.

> ... Et commençèrent à danser en quise de mommerie et à faire bonne chiere, pour la feste plus joyeusement par fournir.

The mummer's play was a threefold affair consisting of a prologue, in which the players were introduced, the drama itself, and a „collect", where the supernumerary characters disguised in grotesque masks appeared and collected the monetary contributions [87]. A typical mummery is described in a fourteenth century English account. On Sunday, February 1, 1377, the night before the Feast of the Purification, a group of minstrels performed at entertainment provided by the young noblemen for Prince Richard [88].

> ... In the night, one hundred and thirty men were disguised and well-mounted on horseback to go mumming to the said Prince, riding from Newgate through Cheapside, where many people could see them, with great noise of minstrelsy, trumpets, cornets, and shawms, and a great many wax torchlights lighted ...
>
> When they reached the manor, they alighted and entered the hall... The trumpets began to sound and other instruments to pipe, etc., and the Prince and the lords danced on the one side and the mummers on the other a long time.

Loud instruments were also used at tournaments. Fanfares announced the contests and processions into the lists. The knightly audience was always impressed by the tumult of trumpets and clarions. Whenever one participant wrought a heavy blow upon his opponent, all the musicians would play at once very loudly [89].

> Lors menestrelz liement
> Cournoient, hairauz crioient
> Lances brisent, cops resonnent,
> Et ces menestrelz hault sonnent
> Si qu'on n'oïst Dieu tonnant.

Soft instruments were employed in connection with religious music for both liturgical services and mystery-plays. The musicians themselves really never outgrew the stigma attached to actors, buffoons, singers, and instrumentalists during the late Roman Empire. The church fathers spoke out against attending the performances of these men who sang secular music, often with licentious words, were guilty of tom-foolery while playing

[87] Chambers, *Op. Cit.*, I, 211 ff.
[88] Edith Rickert, *Chaucer's World* (New York, 1948), p. 233 f.
[89] Christine de Pisan, *Op. Cit.*, III, 79.

for church services or mystery-plays, and in general led „scandalous" lives. Even though the jongleurs were excommunicated and labled „instruments of the devil", it was to little avail. As time went on, however, the musicians settled down, and their profession was looked upon as fairly quiet and respectable. Even the church came to recognize, and favor those performers who sang or played music which praised God, the saint's lives, or the exploits of the heroes who fought for both Church and empire [90].

Ecclesiastical musicians served in the household retinues of feudal lords, bishops, and other high lay and church officials. Musicians were frequently found in cathedrals and monasteries, took part in the holy day festivals of religious confraternities, and often accompanied pilgrims enroute. It was Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy who added lay musicians to his chapel, thereby establishing an important precedent [91]. At the court chapel of Maximilian of Austria, the choristers were sometimes supported by the organ, cornets (zinks), and trombones [92]. For the celebration of the offices of daily prayer, only mixed voices with organ were used. Instruments were added for high feast days and other solemn occasions. Jean Gerson, in his *De canticorum originali ratione,* noticed that loud instruments (trumpets, bombards, and shawms) were frequently added in church services. For example, trumpets and clarions were played in a church at Ghent in 1386 after a sermon by Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy. Organs and trumpets played at the processional in Notre Dame, Paris, when the English regent was received in 1424 [93]. Frequently, shawms and a sackbut, or trombone, for the bass part, took the place of the choir at especially festive occasions, such as the marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York [94].

> Assez tost après recommença ladicte quette son propoz, et pour mieulx festoyer la compaignie, demanda ses haulz menestriers; et tantost furent les quatre fenestres ouvertes, et par la saillirent chevres et ung bouc, moult bien et vivement faictz. Le bouc jouoit d'une trompette saicqueboute, et les trois chevres jouoient de shalmayes; et en celle manière jouerent ung motet...

[90] Faral, *Op. Cit.,* pp. 16-45.

[91] George van Doorslaer, „La Chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau", *Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art.* IV (1934), 159.

[92] Pirro, *Histoire de la musique,* p. 140.

[93] André Pirro, „Remarques sur l'exécution musicale, de la fin du XIVe au milieu du XVe siècle". *Congrès de la Société internationale de Musicologie* (Liège, 1930), p. 58.

[94] Olivier de la Marche, *Op. Cit.,* III, 152.

The many religious confraternities had their own musicians. As the Sacrament was being carried through the streets of Middelbourg in 1365, the minstrels in the procession played vielles, guitars, psalteries, rebecs, and woodwind instruments. At Langres, the Confraternity of Saints Peter and Paul was led in all processions by their two minstrels [95].

As a general rule, churchmen in the Middle Ages seem to have preferred low instruments. Philippe de Mézières, in his *Nova religio milicie passionis Jesu Christi,* makes several remarks on the use of music in the crusading army he dreamed of instituting. He would use portative organs for minor festivals, larger organs for solemn days, and *bas* instruments for the divine worship service. Pierre d'Ailly, Chancellor of the University of Paris, and later Bishop of Cambrai, liked music which was „not harsh", and Jean Gerson preferred „soft" music [96]. Even the most austere of ecclesiastics, Robert Grosseteste, consented to employ a private harper [97].

Both loud and soft instruments were featured in the mystery-plays which became increasingly widespread in the later medieval period. The organization of the dramas was undertaken by the whole community, high-born and low, lay and ecclesiastic alike. A specific lay confraternity was usually granted special privilege to put on a specific drama. These religious brotherhoods were extremely numerous. The Parisian Confraternity of the Passion had existed since the early fourteenth century. The members were mainly workers, although the wandering scholars, or *clerici ribaldi,* and minstrels also performed. These musicians were also members of guilds which participated regularly in these plays [98]. A director also served as organizer, prologue-speaker, commentator, stage-manager, and orchestra-leader. He normally stood at a vantage point overlooking the stage, with manuscript and baton in hand. Both the orchestra and chorus were located behind the scenes. The instrumentalists were normally divided into two groups: the high at ground-level, and the low on an elevated section.

All instruments, both loud and soft, were used for the processions through the city to attract an audience. The company would proceed from the lodgings of the players to the stage, usually erected in the *parvis* directly in front of the cathedral. The whole troupe was accompanied by [99]

> sons de trompets, clerons, bussines,
> orgues, harpes, tabourins, etc.,
> jouans de tous costez.

[95] Pirro, „Remarques sur l'exécution musicale", p. 56.
[96] Pirro, „La musique à Paris", pp. 15-19.
[97] Chambers, *Op. Cit.,* I, 56.
[98] Robert Haas, *Aufführungspraxis der Musik* (Potsdam: 1931), p. 63.
[99] Gustave Cohen, *Histoire de la mise-en-scène dans le thèâtre religieux français du moyen âge* (Paris: 1906), p. 249.

At a procession in the city of Seurre (Cote-d'Or) in 1496 announcing the performance of a mystery-play, loud and soft instruments, including organs, harps, drums, trumpets, and clarions, were played [100]. Fifes and drums alone were often used beforehand to call people to the performance, during the speech of the „barker", and during the parade introducing the actors [101]. A musical „overture", or prelude, preceded the liturgical drama. It consisted of contemporary rondeaux, ballades, virelais, and chansons. All instruments together were also played during the entr'actes to maintain the audience's interest. Actual directions were given in extant manuscripts: „Silete de tous les instruments du jeu"; „De tous les instrumens du jeu soit joue beau silete", for example [102].

A few mystery-plays give explicit directions as to the use of various instruments. Jacques Milet, in the *Istoire de la Destruction de Troye la Grant,* written in 1450, designates players of loud instruments here, soft ones there. Trumpets, clarions, and buisines were used for introducing key speeches, triumphal entries, marches, Judgement Day, and military scenes [103]. Loud noises always accompanied „the forces of evil" and scenes from hell. The nether-regions were ordinarily depicted on the earthen base upon which the actual stage-scaffold was erected. A large „mouth" or entrance-way was made, from which smoke poured. It was large enough to contain people standing erect. Sometimes hell was shown behind doors in a scenic flat, which would open to show demons and a large cauldron. A deep pit was also appropriately featured. For the devil's speeches, thunder, earthquakes, and fire, large pipes, drums, barrels filled with stones, and sometimes actual artillery pieces were used. Drums and cymbals depicted the deeds of the devil himself [104]. In the *Actes des Apostres* of Simon Greban, the bombard was used, its tones even deeper than the voice of Leviathan, which bellowed „louder than two bulls". In an instrumental interlude of the *Mystère de Saint Vincent,* the moaning of hell was depicted. In order to show the agony and suffering of the damned, music which was „non pas on mellodieux ton" was performed [105].

The organ and vielle were the most important soft instruments employed in mystery-plays. The former, because of its religious associations, accompanied the choir of angels and represented God. Harps, lutes, rebecs, and the portative organ were played whenever Jesus appeared to preach [106].

[100] Pirro, *Histoire de la musique,* p. 129.
[101] Haas, *Op. Cit.,* p. 64.
[102] Cohen, *Op. Cit.,* p. 138.
[103] Pirro, *Histoire de la musique,* p. 128 f.
[104] Lavoix, *Op. Cit.,* p. 352.
[105] Pirro, *Histoire de la musique,* p. 127.
[106] Cohen, *Op. Cit.,* p. 136.

Shepherds in the Christmas plays always performed on flutes, recorders, or bagpipes [107]. At scenes of paradise, low instruments were placed around the stage setting. Heaven was depicted on a raised platform on the stage, garnished with papier-mâché flowers, trees, and fruits. Rows of actor-angels, cherubims, and seraphims surrounded a central throne for the figures of the trinity. At a Bourges Apostles play, a gigantic float on a wagon represented paradise. Next to it marched minstrels playing flutes, harps, lutes, rebecs, and vielles [108].

In the *Chronique scandaleuse,* this type of portable, ambulant mystery-play is mentioned. Players of soft instruments performed melodies on a float, where three naked girls sang motets. This play took place along the route which Philip the Good took in traveling to the coronation of King Louis XI at Reims in August, 1461 [109].

> Et, ung peu avant dedens ladicte ville, estoient à la fontaine du Ponçeau hommes et femmes sauvages, qui se combatoient et faisoient plusieurs contenances. Et si y avoit encores trois bien belles filles, faisans personnages de seraines, toutes nues, et leur veoit on le beau tetin droit, separé, rond et dur, qui estoit chose bien plaisant, et disoient de petiz motetz et bergerettes; et près d'eulx jouoient plusieurs bas instrumens qui rendoient de grandes melodies.

It was the practice of the medieval courts to have minstrels perform on low instruments after meals. Philippe de Mézières states this esthetic predilection for soft music following the repast [110].

> Encore est chose convenable que tu aies des ménestreux a bas instrumens pour aucune recreation, faisant digestion de ta personne royale après les conseils et travaux de la royale majesté.

King Charles V of France was noted for favoring their use at such occasions. The court usually retired to the Parlement chamber after supper to listen to music, according to Christine de Pisan [111].

> ... Instrumens bas, pour resjouir les esperis, si doulcement jouez comme la musique peut mesurer son, oyoit voulentiers à la fin de ses mangiers.

While the son of the Holy Roman Emperor was visiting the King of France,

[107] Pirro, *Loc. Cit.,* p. 128.

[108] Haas, *Op. Cit.,* p. 65.

[109] *Journal de Jean de Roye connu sous le nom de Chronique scandaleuse,* ed. Bernard de Mandot (Paris: 1884), I, 27 f.

[110] Marix, *Op. Cit.,* p. 93.

[111] *Le Livre des fais et des bonnes meurs de sage roy Charles V,* ed. Michaud & Poujoulat (Paris: 1851), I, 610.

many feasts were given in his honor. After the meals were finished, Charles, as was his custom, adjourned, followed by his guest and as many of the nobles as could comfortably fit into the room. Then the minstrels performed the king's favorite compositions on soft instruments [112].

> Après soupper, se retray le Roy, avec lui le filz de l'Empereur, et tant de barons comme entrer y pot, en la chambre de parlement; et là jouerent, selon la coustume, les menestriers de bas instrumens se doulcement comme plus peut, et la estoyent assis les deux rois, en deux haultes chayres, où, sus chascune ot ciel brodé à fleur de lis.

The same habit was in vogue at the Burgundian court. Philip the Bold enjoyed listening to soft music after dinner. On one occasion he gave a gratuity to [113]

> Symon Guioteaul, sergent mons. le duc,
> qui li faisoit anuyt et souffloit en
> son cornet.

Philip's great-grandson, Charles the Fearless, also followed this custom, according to the chronicler Jean Molinet [114].

Low instruments were preferred for the rendition of chansons, those charming unions of poetry and music so popular in the fourteenth and fiftheenth centuries. Pastoral, outdoor gatherings were frequent, and both songs and dances were usually featured. The best-liked forms in the later Middle Ages were the *rondeau, virelai,* and *ballade.* Love usually constituted the theme: one's regrets, hopes, remembrances, etc. The courts of love and schools of rhetoric in northern France furnished the musicians with ample poetry [115]. The delicate, refined fabric of the music, combined with the importance of the text, indicated soft instruments as accompaniment to the vocal parts. An earlier poem, the *Comte d'Anjou,* by Jean Maillart, is informative in this respect [116].

> Li auquant chantent pastourelles,
> Li autre dient en vielles
> Chançons royaus et estampies,
> Dances, notes et baleries,
> En leüt, en psalterion,
> Chascun selonc s'entençion,
> Lais d'amours, descore et balades
> Pour esbatre ces gens malades.

[112] *Ibid,* II, 108.

[113] Bernard Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des comptes des Ducs de Bourgogne,* I (Paris: 1902), 81 f.

[114] A. van der Linden, *Op. Cit.,* pp. 177-180.

[115] Jeanne Marix, *Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle* (Paris: 1937), p. XVIII.

[116] Eugene Droz & Gaston Thibault, *Poètes et musiciens du XVe siècle* (Paris: 1924), p. 5.

Until the mid-fifteenth century the *superius* was usually sung, while the contratenor and tenor parts were performed on instruments. Later, the chansons were sung, played, or a combination of both voices and instruments [117].

The more popular form of the round-dance was the carol. The couples all joined hands, forming a sort of chain. It was usually performed in a garden or open meadow to the music of contemporary *rondeaux* and *virelais*. Vielles, rotes, and flutes were the accompanying instruments [118]. The jongleurs (later the wandering minstrels) supplied the music, according to the *Roman des Sept Sages* [119].

Li jongleours vont viëlant
Et les lorjoises karolant.

The famous fifteenth-century basse-dance took its name from the *bas* instruments which accompanied it. In form it was a rhythmical variant of the *haut* dance (saltarello), and was performed to the music of popular chansons of the day. According to Nicole de la Chesnaye's *La nef de santé,* it was a new form of dancing [120].

Sus, sus, sonnez une chançon
Si verrez quelque saul gaillart
Tantost monsteray la façon
De dancer sur le nouvel art.

Cornazzano's *Il Libro dell' arte del danzare* says that the basse-dance was a slow, stately court dance, the performers taking small, gliding steps and rising on their toes. The movements were bows, simple steps, and oscillations sidewise and backwise [121]. The instruments used to furnish the music for the basse-dance included the lute, organ, harp, flute, and cornet (a leather-covered wooden instrument with finger-holes).

Interestingly enough, noblewomen in the Middle Ages seem to have preferred the soft instruments to the loud ones for court dances [122].

Weder mit tambur noch mit busine
Wolten sich die frowen lan betoren:
Videln, herpfen, rotten und ander
Suzze doene sie wolten horen.

[117] Marix, *Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne,* p. xii.
[118] Haas, *Op. Cit.,* p. 72.
[119] Gérold, *Histoire de la musique,* p. 355.
[120] Hertzmann, *Op. Cit.,* p. 403.
[121] Sachs, *World History of the Dance,* p. 311 ff.
[122] Gérold, *Histoire de la musique,* p. 356.

Isabella of Portugal, third wife of the duke of Burgundy, brought with her and retained in service two players of low instruments: Jehan Fernandez, vielle, and Jehan de Cordoval, lute [123].

In this brief survey of the grouping of musical instruments in the later Middle Ages, we have followed the important role of sonority in determining their use, as well as the undeviating principle of selection which runs through all the musical events of this era. In every performance, sacred or secular, the esthetical question of dynamics and tone color was paramount: loud or soft; *haut* or *bas*.

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[123] Marix, *Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne*, p. XIII.

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUM WORT-TON-VERHÄLTNIS IN DEN GLORIA-CREDO-SÄTZEN VON DUFAY BIS JOSQUIN

FRITZ FELDMANN

In seiner Besprechung des aufschlussreichen Besselerschen Buches *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon* [1] hat A. Schmitz den Blick auf eine Reihe von Problemen gelenkt, die der Prioritätsfrage des Fauxbourdon an Bedeutung wohl gleichkommen dürften und geeignet sind, der Forschung einen neuen und weiten Bereich zu erschliessen [2]. Kurz gesagt: er regte an, die funktionale Seite des Fauxbourdon näher zu untersuchen, d.h. zu prüfen, ob die gelegentliche Anwendung der Sextakkordtechnik, aber auch die Ton-bzw. Tongruppenwiederholung, ferner Besselers sogenannte „Terzfreiheit" [3] nicht textlich bedingt, besser gesagt, im Sinne der „Figura" aufzufassen sei. Nun ist zwar eine systematische Lehre von der Figura in der Musik vor Burmeister [4] noch nicht nachweisbar [5]. Somit ist Vorsicht in ihrer Anwendung auf eine frühere Zeit geboten. Ob nicht dennoch diese *Figurae* — wenn auch vielleicht nicht immer in derselben Bezeichnung — dem *Sinne* nach den Meistern der 3 ersten niederländischen Schulen vertraut waren, soll hier untersucht werden.

Nun ist allgemein Josquin als der Inbegriff eines neuen Wort-Ton-Verhältnisses bekannt. Dass bei ihm, dem ersten Meister der *musica reservata,* dessen Kunst seine Bewunderer als *ars perfecta* von der früheren abhoben [6], jene dem Rhetor abgelauschte Figuren-Perspektive schon da war, ist nicht verwunderlich, wenn auch im einzelnen noch nachzuweisen.

[1] H. Besseler, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon. Studien zum Ursprung der niederländischen Musik.* Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1950, (im folgenden nur Besseler, *Bourdon* zitiert).

[2] A. Schmitz (Besprechung des unter 1 genannten Buches) in *Die Musikforschung,* VI. Jahrgang, S. 57 ff.

[3] Besseler, *Bourdon,* S. 43 u.a.

[4] Joach. Burmeister, *Hypomnematum musicae poeticae.* Rostock 1599.
— *Musica poetica.* Rostock 1606 u.a.

[5] Ueber die diesbezügliche Literatur vide Hans-Heinrich Unger, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Musik und Rhetorik im 16.-18. Jahrhundert.* Phil. Diss. Berlin 1941.

[6] Vide Glareanus, *Dodekachordon* 1547. Vgl. u.a. Besseler, *Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (in *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft,* hrsg. von E. Bücken, Potsdam, Athenaion-Verlag) S. 251.

Wie aber steht es mit den älteren Meistern? Dass man Ockeghem der letzten Gotik und Josquin der neuen Zeit der Renaissance zuzuweisen pflegt, beleuchtet die zweifellos vorhandene Kluft zwischen den beiden Persönlichkeiten. Gewiss ist Besselers Satz von der „Grenzenlosigkeit und Ausdrucksfülle" in Ockeghems Linienspiel, deren „ineinander verschwebende Rhythmen" [7] die spätmittelalterliche Mystik verkörpern, treffend formuliert, gewiss scheint eine „planmässige Rationalität der Formgebung" [8] zu fehlen. Ist aber der Text wirklich „noch nicht in seinem besonderen Aufbau, bis in seine Einzelheiten hinein erfasst" und hat „seine Vertonung im einzelnen etwas Zufälliges" [9] ? Dass Josquins Zeitgenossen die älteren Meister *Mathematici* nannten [10], wird man zunächst als eine beweiskräftige Bestätigung der Ockeghemschen Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber textlichen Einzelheiten betrachten. Aber kann nicht auch ein blosses Nicht-Verstehen der jüngeren Generation gegenüber der älteren dahinter verborgen sein und nur ein anderes, nicht aber ein fehlendes Verständnis für Details des Textes vorliegen?

Dass s. Zt. Riemann mit allzu starkem Nachdruck auf Ockeghem als den Begründer der Durchimitation hinwies und damit vom Kern dieses Meisters ablenkte, lässt sich kaum bestreiten. Heute drängt sich nun hinsichtlich der Imitation die anfangs über den Fauxbourdon geäusserte Frage auf, ob nicht auch sie mehr war als ein rein musikalisches Stilprinzip, d.h. ob und in welchem Grade sie *textbezogen*-funktional angewandt wurde und damit wiederum den Charakter einer „Figura" hatte.

Marcus Fabius Quintilianus hat in seinen *Institutiones Oratoriae* immer wieder darauf hingewiesen, dass die „Figurae", „quae schemata Graece vocantur" [11], eine Art „vitium" seien, aber ein sehr nützliches und wirkungsvolles. An anderer Stelle: „Esset enim omne schema vitium, si non peteretur, sed accideret" [12]. In dem *absichtlichen* Sich-Entfernen von der Norm — hier im Dienste der oratorischen Wirkung — liegt also der Unterschied gegenüber dem unbewusst sich einschleichenden wirklichen Fehler. Und bei der Gruppe der „Wiederholungsfiguren", die des Hörers Aufmerksamkeit zu fesseln haben, wird abermals gesagt *habent quandam .... vitii similitudine gratiam, ut in cibis .... acor ipse iucundus*

[7] H. Besseler, *Handbuch* (*Titel vide Fussnote 6*) Seite 239.

[8] H. Besseler, Vorwort zur „Chorwerk"-Ausgabe (Heft 4, Möseler-Verlag) der Missa „Mi mi" von Ockeghem. 1950.

[9] T. Georgiades, *Musik und Sprache.* Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Springer-Verlag (1954), S. 42.

[10] Vgl. hierüber besonders W. Ehmann, *Adam von Fulda als Vertreter der ersten deutschen Komponistengeneration.* Berlin 1936.

[11] Vide Anfang des 9. Buches.

[12] Liber IX, Cap. III (Anfang).

est [13]. Diese Funktion von Wiederholungsfiguren als „Würze" betonten die Klang-Rede-Systematiken noch im 17. Jahrhundert [14]) — wo Ahle die *Epizeuxis* das „Salz" nennt. Vertrautheit mit der antiken Oratorie Quintilians ist nun für die Niederländerzeit kaum zweifelhaft, vor allem, dass diese durch die frühen Drucke der Humanisten stark verbreitet wurde [15]. Dass gerade jene Epizeuxis von dem Commentator des Venetianischen Drucks des Jahres 1494 [16] über den Originaltext hinaus näher erläutert wurde [17], lässt wohl auf die besondere Beliebtheit dieser Figur der *Repetitio*-Gruppe schliessen. Die Parallele zum Beliebt-Werden der musikalischen Wiederholungstechnik seit Obrecht liegt dabei nahe. Der Frage, inwieweit die führenden Musiker damals mit all den Regeln der Redekunst vertraut waren, ist biographisch wenig beizukommen. Warum aber sollte Anthoine Busnois, dessen Rhetorik ebenso wie seine Musik *berühmt* war [18], eine Ausnahme darstellen? Erfolgreicher in unserem Falle ist hier wohl der Weg der Werkbetrachtung. Zuvor ist freilich die Grundfrage zu klären: Lässt sich überhaupt die Blickrichtung der Rede-„Figur" auf die musikalische Kunst der Niederländer anwenden?

Man wird sagen dürfen: Ueberall da, wo Abweichungen von der Norm der Kompositionsregeln vorliegen, wo *„vitia" absichtlich* und im Dienste intensiverer Textdarbietung gemacht werden, liegt der Sachverhalt der „Figura" vor. Dass die Gruppe der „tonus"-Regeln — die den Tonartcharakter bestimmen — textbezogen ist, hat neuestens B. Meier mit Recht betont [19]. Jedes Abweichen von diesen Regeln, wie die *mixtio toni,* die Verwendung abnormer Klauseln (z. B. die Sopran-Klausel in der Tenorstimme u.a.) ist wohl mehr als bisher zu beachten. Doch bleiben wir bei elementareren „erlaubten Sünden", solchen nämlich, die gegen das *varietas*-Ideal verstossen, das uns Tinctoris klar überliefert und auf das Besseler mit Nachdruck hinweist [20]. Sie alle sind eben durch ihre Textbezogenheit ge-

[13] Ebenfalls im III. Cap des IX. Buches.

[14] Johann Georg Ahle, Sommer-Gespräch, Mühlhausen 1697. Vgl. besonders A. Schmitz, „Die Figurenlehre in den theoretischen Werken Johann Gottfried Walthers" (in *Archiv für Musikforschung,* IX. Jahrgang 1952, Trossingen), S. 90.

[15] Wenn Gesner in seiner Ausgabe von 1784 die Zeit 1470-93 als „Aetas natalis" der „Editionum Quintiliani" bezeichnet, so bezieht sich das nur auf die Drucke, deren Zahl später ständig zunahm. Die Ms.-Verbreitung ist naturgemäss weniger leicht zu überschauen.

[16] *Quintiliani institutiones cum commento Laurentii Vallensis Pomponii ac Sulpitii,* Venetiis 1494.

[17] Der Kommentartext lautet: „Haec figura epizeuxis a quibusdam graecorum dicitur. Estenim epiz. eiusdem dictionis in eodem versu sine aliqua dilatione geminatio: ‚Me me adsum quod feci' ".

[18] G. Thibault, „Busnois" in MGG II. 518. Spalte.

[19] B. Meier, (vide Fussnote 85).

[20] Besseler, *Bourdon* (Tit. Fn. 1) S. 226.

rechtfertigt, tragen also den Charakter der Figura, mag auch ihre Bezeichnung mit den Termini der Rhetorik für die Niederländerzeit des 15. Jh. meist nicht nachweisbar sein. Eine Aufzählung der wesentlichsten „vitia" sei schon darum hier erlaubt, weil die Werkbetrachtung des Hauptteils dann darauf Bezug nehmen kann.

I. Die mehrfache, unmittelbare Wiederholung des gleichen Tons (im folgenden mit *Tw* abgekürzt).

II. Die Wiederholung gleicher Tongruppen (Tinctoris: *redictas evitare debemus* [21]). Hierbei liegt die Anwendung des Wortes *Epizeuxis* nahe, wird sie doch in dem genannten Kommentar von 1494 für die Wortkunst definiert als *eiusdem dictionis in eodem Versu sine aliqua dilatione geminatio* [22]. Auch die „Palillogia" Burmeisters, sofern sie Wiederholung auf gleicher Stufe meint, gehört hierher. — Die Wiederholung von anderer Stufe aus, weil ins melodische Geschehen gehörig, soll erst in unserer Gruppe VI betrachtet werden —. Obwohl der redicta-Begriff jede Art Wiederholung bedeutet und die feineren Unterschiede der Rede-Terminologie nicht in sich birgt, sei er doch — als der um 1500 allein musiktheoretisch gesicherte — hier in erster Linie angewandt (abgekürzt „rd"). Hierbei wird zwischen „rd" mit weiterlaufendem und wiederholendem Text zu unterscheiden sein. Während Tinctoris diese *redictae* im Gegensatz zur späteren Praxis noch ganz verbietet, gestattet er sie bekanntlich ausnahmsweise zum Schildern von Glockenklang, Fanfaren usw. Dass damit die *Hypotyposis,* zwar nicht dem Namen [23], aber dem Sachverhalt nach vorliegt, betonte Schmitz bereits [24]. Dieser Sammelbegriff der Bildlichkeitsfiguren hat darum hier — als redicta-Ausnahme — seinen Platz.

III. *Hypotyposis.* Genauer betrachtet liegt beim Glockenklang eine akustische Nachahmung und keine Uebertragung vom Visuellen ins Akustische vor, so dass die Kirchersche *Assimilatio* als Unterabteilung am treffendsten wäre [25]. In diesem Zusammenhang sei angefügt die

IV. *Anabasis* und ihr Gegenteil die *Katabasis* — mag auch der Terminus wiederum erst bei Kircher auftauchen [26]. Diese wohl älteste, bei *„descendit"* und *„ascendit"* immer wieder benutzte Richtungsübersteigerung wird in ihrem bewussten Figurencharakter kaum zu bestreiten sein. Beide stehen in enger Verbindung zum

[21] Siehe auch H. Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.-XIX. Jahrhundert,* Berlin (Hesse-Verlag) S. 318.

[22] In der Musik kommt die Epizeuxis nach Unger (Tit. vide Fn. 5) S. 152 seit Lippius 1610 f vor.

[23] Der Terminus „Hypotyposis" wird — nach Unger (Tit. Fn. 5) — erstmalig bei Burmeister in der musikalischen Figurenlehre verwendet.

[24] A. Schmitz (vide Fn. 2) S. 60.

[25] Unger, S. 72.

[26] Unger (Tit. vide Fn. 5) S. 95 u. Anhang 5, Nr. 5 und Nr. 30 der Tabelle.

V. Höchst-bzw. Tiefst-Ton innerhalb einer Stimme. Ist schon hier die Textbezogenheit stets zu beachten, so liegt bei einem Ueber-bzw. Unterschreiten der normalen Grenzen offensichtlich „vitium"-Charakter vor. Es mag ein Sonderfall des Verlassens der Tonart sein, sicher aber ist er auffällig für Ohr und Auge, in letzterer Hinsicht bei Anwendung von Hilfslinien. Burmeisters *Hyperbole,* bzw. *Hypobole* [27] trifft diesen Sachverhalt bestens.

VI. Das *redictae*-Verbot meint auch die Wiederholung auf anderer Stufe,-d. h. eben jene Erscheinung, die bei der Obrecht-Generation beliebt wird. Wenn hier zwischen dem üblichen, der Klassik entlehnten Sequenz-Begriff und den zahlreichen Figuren der Emphasis-Klasse [28] (Epizeuxis, Anaphora, Gradatio [29], Polyptoton, Synonymia, Congeries u.a.) zu wählen ist, so verdienen die barocken Figurennamen den Vorzug, besonders dann, wenn wir die Verwendung im Sinne einer Figur beweisen können. Dass Riemanns *Harmoniesequenz* [30], für Obrecht wiederum als typisch bekannt, d. h. die gemeinsame Rückung *aller* oder mehrerer Stimmen, einen Spezialfall darstellt, der bereits von den melodisch-einstimmigen Figuren zu den klanglichen führt, soll nicht hindern, ihn schon hier aufzuzählen.

VII. Als letztes *vitium* im rein melodischen Bereich sei die Reihe abnormer Intervallschritte summarisch genannt. Stehen schon die Sprünge der kleinen Sexte und Oktave vermöge ihrer Seltenheit meist im Dienste des Textes, so ist dies bei Grenzüberschreitungen wie der grossen Sext, der Sept usw. in weit höherem Masse der Fall. Neben der recht späten *Exclamatio* Scheibes [31] gehört die auf Affektbewegung zielende *Pathopoïa* hierher. Ist doch die Verwendung harmoniefremder Halbtöne — etwa bei „miserere" — nicht erst seit Burmeister, wo sie systematisch aufgeführt ist, üblich, sondern in der Praxis schon bei Dufay. Besselers „Terzfreiheit" [32] dürfte das gleiche meinen. Dass die Redekunst unter demselben Wort eine „figura orationis" versteht, „qua vel odium, vel iracundia, vel misericordia movetur" [33], zeugt für die Herkunft auch der musikalischen *Pathopoïa* aus der Oratorie.

VIII. Im Bereich des intervallmässigen Zusammenklangs sind Regel-Verstösse, die der Textverdeutlichung dienen sollen, wohl zunächst Quinten- und Oktaven-Parallelen. Die *peccata*-Stellen des Gloria werden uns

[27] Erstmalig wiederum bei Burmeister. Vide Unger (*loco cit.*) S. 80.

[28] Vide A. Schmitz in M.G.G. Figura, IV. Sp. 179.

[29] Der hiermit parallele Climaxbegriff (vide Fn. 37) ist, um Verwechselungen vorzubeugen, hier vermieden: Climax sei nur im Sinne Nucius verwandt.

[30] Vide H. Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte,* II, 1, Leipzig, Breitkopf u. Härtel, 1920.

[31] Nr. 18 auf S. 77 bei Unger.

[32] Besseler, *Bourdon,* S. 43f. und A. Schmitz.

[33] Nr. 34 auf S. 86 bei Unger.

hierfür Belege liefern. Fälle eines wirklichen Lapsus — „si non peteretur, sed accideret" — gehören natürlich nicht hierher.

IX. Anders liegt es bei Terzen-, Sexten- und Decimen-Folgen, deren erlaubte Höchstzahl (unmittelbar hintereinander) noch bei Fux vier ist. Dass dies schon bei Joh. de Muris oberste Grenze war und dass 1412 Prosdocimus de Beldemandis mangelnde diversitas als Grund angibt [34], ist bekannt [35]. Der längst vorhandene englische gymel hat in der niederländischen Technik den „vitium"-Charakter bei mehr als 4 Parallelen kaum zu ändern vermocht. Wohl die grösste klangliche Wirkung haben in dieser Kategorie längere Dezimen-Folgen der Aussenstimmen. Wie beim Fauxbourdon ist auch hier in der Forschung die Prioritätsfrage gestellt worden [36]. In unserem Falle geht es aber nicht darum, welches Volk zuerst damit operierte. Wichtiger ist, dass die „Sortisatio" des improvisierten Dezimen-Singens in der hohen niederländischen Kunst wiederum als „Figura" Eingang fand. In diesem Sinne baut sie Nucius 1610 in seinem System als *Climax* ein und hebt ihre steigernde und abschliessende Wirkung hervor [37]. Dieser Terminus sei hier, Aussenstimmen-Climax als *A.-Clx,* Binnenstimmen-Climax als Terzen-bzw. Sexten-bzw. *B.-Clx,* verwendet, wobei der auch schon bei den Niederländern vorhandene funktionale Charakter als textbezogenes Stilmittel unsere Benutzung rechtfertigen möge.

X. Anders als bei der „Climax"-Figur ist ja *Fauxbourdon* schon im 15. Jahrhundert ein gebräuchlicher Terminus. Wenn er in unserem Zusammenhang bereits bei einigen vorübergehenden Sextakkord-Folgen, nicht bei ganzen „Fauxbourdonstücken" (im Sinne Besselers), gebraucht wird, so liegt dem die schon anfangs aufgeworfene Frage nach dem Fauxbourdon als „Ornamentum orationis" zu Grunde. (Abkürzung: *Fxb.*).

XI. Gleichfalls eine klangliche Ausnahme-Erscheinung in der damaligen Kompositionstechnik ist der Satz „Note gegen Note", den noch Tinctoris als *ridiculosum* und *puerile* brandmarkt [38]. Mit Recht weist Schmitz darauf hin, dass die Josquin-Zeit dies bereits als Figur auffasste [39]. Wenn die systematische Rede- *und* die Klangrede-Kunst unter *Noëma* (im folgenden *N* abgekürzt) einen Abschnitt verstehen, der „wichtige

[34] Besseler, *Bourdon,* S. 16.

[35] Vgl. auch Riemann, *Geschichte d. Musiktheorie,* Berlin (Hesse).

[36] Vide *Kongress-Bericht der Internat. Gesellschaft für Musikforschung,* Utrecht 1952. Ulrich Teuber, Bemerkungen zur Homophonie im 16. Jh., bes. S. 389.

[37] „Cum per Arsin et Thesin binae voces similiter gradiuntur, ut cum Discantus et Basis in multis Decimis aut Basis et Tenor in pluribus tertiis procedunt".

Vide Unger S. 78. Die andere Climax (= Gradatio)-Bedeutung, die „mehrmalige, sich steigernde Wiederholung stufenweise aufwärts" (vide A. Schmitz, M.G.G. Figura, IV. Sp. 179) gehört in unsere Gruppe VI (Redictae).

[38] Vide Besseler, *Bourdon,* S. 226.

[39] A. Schmitz S. 60.

Dinge enthält und sich von der Umgebung abhebt" [40], so steht wiederum der funktionale Charakter dieses Stilmittels dahinter, weil nur das Verhältnis zu den umgebenden anderen Stilmitteln, der Kontrast zur *Fuga* u.a. die Stärke des „Noëma" ausmacht. Einen dauernd homophonen Satz im Sinne des „Falsobordone" dürfte man demnach nicht *Noëma* nennen. Wie eng die Figuren *N, Clx,* evtl. *Fxb* und auch *Tw* verknüpft sein können, wird zu zeigen sein.

XII. Dass die *Imitation* und ihre konsequente Steigerung, die „Durchimitation", hier in dieser Aufzählung (mindestens ursprünglich) abnormer Stilmittel auftaucht, mag problematisch sein. Es wäre interessant, wenn sich nachweisen liesse, dass auch die Imitation, als sie noch ungewohnt war, ebenfalls „vitium"-Charakter hatte. Jedenfalls spielt die Gewöhnung im Wandel der Figuren — wie stets in der Menschheitsgeschichte — eine wichtige Rolle. Wenn wir statt der modernen Bezeichnung „Durchimitation" die ausnahmslose Nachahmung mit *Fuga* [40a] (abgekürzt „F"), freilich nicht im Sinne der tonalen Fuge, benennen, so wird dieser in der barocken Figurenlehre übliche Terminus kaum der Rechtfertigung bedürfen. Anders ist est mit der Fugierung *nicht* aller Stimmen, die bei Burmeister den Namen

XIII. *Apocope* hat (abgekürzt *Ap*)[41]. Wie sehr die Teil-Fuga der Textinterpretation dient, kann vielfach belegt werden.

XIV. Wenn als letzte der hauptsächlich zu belegenden Figuren, die „paarweise Imitation" lieber den Rede-Terminus *Mimesis* (*Mm*)[42] erhalten hat, so ist der Grund für diese Bevorzugung der gleiche: es sei nochmals betont, dass in den meisten Fällen zwar nicht nachweisbar ist, ob den Meistern des 15. Jahrhunderts der erst später überlieferte Terminus geläufig war. Diese Behauptung ist in unserer Terminologie nicht inbegriffen, wohl aber die wichtigere: dass die Art ihrer Verwendung der späteren, seit 1600 belegten zum mindesten nahe kommt. Dies ist dann der Fall, wenn wir jeweils den *bewussten,* der Textausdeutung dienenden Gebrauch der genannten Stilmittel beweisen können, m.a.W. wenn wir ihren Figurencharakter an hinreichenden Beispielen gezeigt haben.

Da es bei allen Untersuchungen über das Wort-Ton-Verhältnis auf recht zahlreiche Vergleiche von Vertonungen desselben Textes ankommt, wurden die *Gloria-* und *Credo*-Sätze von Dufay bis Josquin in möglichst grossem Umfang zur Grundlage genommen. Alle anderen Texte und Gattungen wurden absichtlich unberücksichtigt gelassen. So kann die Ueberprüfung obiger Fragen am Gloria und Credo auch einen Beitrag zur

[40] Nr. 28, S. 83 bei Unger.

[40a] Tinctoris, Diffinitorium: Fuga est identitas partium cantus quo ad valorem, nomen, formam, et interdum quo ad locum tonorum et pausarum suarum.

[41] Nr. 4, S. 70 bei Unger. [42] S. 84 bei Unger.

Geschichte der *Messvertonungen* liefern, freilich unter einer ungewohnten Blickrichtung. Während ja sonst die zyklische Bindung der Messsätze im Vordergrund der Betrachtung zu stehen pflegt, werden hier einmal nicht die musikalischen Gross-„Sätze", deren Terminus wohl mit dem zyklischen Sonaten-„Satz" zusammenzuhängen scheint, sondern „Sätze" im eigentlichen Sinne, d.h. die Details genauer beleuchtet. Gewiss ist die ganzheitliche Betrachtung nicht auszuschalten; dass sie im vorliegenden Falle ohne Schaden zurücktreten kann, wird der Vergleich derselben textlichen Unterabschnitte (deren C.f.-Gerüst meist verschieden ist), lehren.

Das Wort-Ton-Problem, das in der Figurenlehre von der *Rhetorik* her gesehen ist, erfährt namentlich im Gebiet der Messe eine naheliegende Bereicherung, ja Vertiefung. Es ist selbstverständlich, dass der theologisch-*exegetische* Gesichtspunkt mehr als alles Rhetorische Ausgangspunkt sein muss, mag auch ein Eingehen auf all die vielen *Expositiones Missae* von Albertus Magnus bis etwa Gabriel Biel, Bechoffen [43] usw. hier unmöglich sein. Es wäre zwar reizvoll, das Gloria in seinen 17, das Credo in seinen 18 Unterabschnitten, wie sie sie P. Wagner in seiner Geschichte der Messe gibt [44]), Punkt für Punkt zu betrachten. Das überschritte jedoch den Rahmen eines Aufsatzes — es ist in Buchform vorgesehen — und würde obige Fragen nicht übersichtlich genug belegen. Darum sei — eben um dieser grösseren Uebersichtlichkeit willen — die Nummerierung der vorstehenden „Figuren"-Aufzählung beibehalten, wobei die Frage des relativen Altersunterschiedes unter ihnen nicht aufgeworfen sei.

I. Dass mehrfache Tonwiederholung, weil sie den diatonischen Bewegungsfluss unterbricht, als „peccatum" galt, zeigt Brumels (*in remissionem*) *peccatorum* — Stelle seiner *L'homme armé*-Messe recht deutlich [45]. Ganz im Gegensatz zur Umgebung werden die Takte 109/112 von dem starren d d d g, das als Fuga durch alle Stimmen läuft, beherrscht. Eine Kette von $4 \times 3 = 12$ *Tw* (B.A.T.S.) drängt sich auf. Nicht 11, nicht 13, sondern *12* d's sind es, und hierdurch lässt sich die Kernfrage, dass nämlich die „Tw" wohlüberlegt angebracht ist, klar nachweisen.

Wir haben damit den *Schlüssel* für die weitere „Figuren"-Betrachtung in der Hand. Dass die *Zahlenmystik* nicht nur bei Bach — der gleichzeitig mit Haendel der letzte und grösste Klangredner ist [46] — noch einmal

[43] Vide Adolph Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie,* Freiburg i. B., Herder-Verlag, 1902.

[44] Peter Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe,* Leipzig 1913.

[45] Antonii Brumel *Opera Omnia* (in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae)* Edidit Armen Carapetyan, I. Missa L'Homme armé. Rome, American Institute of Musicology, 1951, S. 14.

[46] Vide Arnold Schmitz, *Die Bildlichkeit der wortgebundenen Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs,* Mainz (Schott). o. J.

grösste Triumphe feiert [47], sondern erst recht im ausgehenden Mittelalter eine wichtige Rolle spielte, schien bisher weniger beachtet zu werden, gibt aber Aufschlüsse über die niederländische Kompositionstechnik, wie sie wohl doch heute kaum Allgemeingut sind. Die 12, das Symbol der Schöpfung, der irdischen Welt, Gott gegenüber durch die Kirche vertreten, enthält in ihrem Begriff auch die Sünde, die *peccatores*. Gerade die *Tw* — sonst verboten — macht die beabsichtigte symbolische Zahl sinnfällig. Dass sie etwas getarnt auftritt und nicht grob-offen (12 Tw in gleicher Stimme), verwundert nicht.

Das Brumel-Beispiel war wegen seines „peccatum"-Bezuges mitten aus der grossen Reihe der Niederländer heraus an erste Stelle gesetzt worden. Damit soll nicht die selbstverständliche Chronologie vernachlässigt werden. Sehen wir „das Werk, das man wohl als die erste ndl. Messe des 15. Jh. ansprechen kann" [48], die Missa *St. Jacobi* Dufays (vor 1430) auf unsere Gesichtspunkte hin an, so finden wir, dass all die Figurae, die im folgenden zahlreich belegt werden sollen, hier noch fast ganz fehlen. Immerhin dürfte die Reihe der *Tw* hier einen der frühesten Belege innerhalb der Messkomposition finden. Wenn aber das *Et incarnatus est,* jener markante *Noëma*-Einschnitt des 16. Jahrhunderts [49] im Cantus 3 d, dann 2 c, im Contratenor unter dem d 2 g aufweist, so sind damit 2 Zahlen hervorgehoben, die mit dem „incarnatus"-Gedanken stets verknüpft waren: 7 und 5. Aus der Gesamtzahl 7 — dem Gottes- und Himmels-Symbol — löst sich die Kreuzzahl 5 heraus, als Zeichen der Menschwerdung. Bindel hat in seinem Buch „Die Zahlengrundlagen der Musik im Wandel der Zeiten" auf die „individualisierende Kraft" der Fünfzahl hingewiesen [50] und bezieht — für uns zu kurz — die „Christologie" in seine geistesgeschichtliche Betrachtung dieser Zahl ein [51]. Im Verlauf der weiteren Beispiele wird die bewusste Betonung der 5 im genannten Sinne noch häufiger vorkommen.

Die Credo-Stelle *Qui cum patre et filio* gibt Gelegenheit zu weiteren *Tw*-Beobachtungen. Dufays Altstimme — Takt 138 —, die in der *Se la*

[47] F. Blume, „J. Seb. Bach" in MGG — gibt auf Spalte 1030 des I. Bandes eine Zusammenfassung. Siehe auch Martin Jansen, Bachs Zahlensymbolik, an seinen Passionen untersucht (in *Bach-Jahrbuch* 1937) S. 96 ff.

[48] Besseler, „Dufay" in MGG III, Spalte 910. Neuausgabe: *Opera Omnia* (*CMM*) Edidit G. de Van, Rome, Amer. Inst. of Musicology, 1949.

[49] Vide P. Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe.* Ungers Satz „In allen Messenkompositionen Josquins mit Ausnahme der „L'homme armé VI. toni" ist diese Stelle deutlich von der übrigen Faktur des Credo nach Art des Noema hervorgehoben", bedarf zwar noch einiger Einschränkung, weist aber mit Recht auf Josquin als den entscheidenden Förderer der „N"-Figur hin (S. 121 f des Fn. 5 zitierten Werks).

[50] Ernst Bindel, *Die Zahlengrundlagen der Musik im Wandel der Zeiten,* Verlag Freies Geistesleben, Stuttgart 1950, S. 91 f.

[51] „Die Zahl 5 und der Mensch", S. 108 ff.

face-Messe mit ihren 3 × je 2 „Tw" wohl an die Dreifaltigkeit denkt [52], steht hier 2 untereinander ganz ähnlichen Ockeghem-Beispielen gegenüber. Nur bringt in der *L'homme armé*-Messe der Pariser Meister neben 3 x 3 Tw im Sopran (T. 118) mit ggg cc auch die 5, während die Missa „Mi mi" ganz auffällig — wiederum in der Oberstimme — „pater" und „filius" durch die fünfmalige Tw, auf Finalis (e) und Repercussa (a) IV. toni, unter dem Kreuz-Symbol anspricht [53]).

Die 3-stimmige Missa *sine nomine* [54] Ockeghems verbindet beim 2. *Qui tollis peccata* des Gloria die dreimalig abwärts gleitende Tonwiederholung mit der Fugentechnik: 9 Primschritte in den 3 Stimmen — Dreifaltigkeit — stehen andererseits der *7-tönigen Fuga* gegenüber. Dass diese für Ockeghem abnorm schlichte Rhythmik mit den *peccata* — ähnlich der obigen Brumel-Stelle — zusammenhängt, liegt nahe.

Das *Unum* und die Christus-Zahl [55] erklären wohl auch die Anwendung von *5 Prim*-Schritten im Bass des zweistimmigen *Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum* der *Cuiusvis-toni*-Messe des gleichen Meisters [56]. Auf die Bedeutung des „unum" geht auch Joh. Bechoffen in seiner *Expositio quadruplex* 1505 ein und erklärt es als notwendig gegenüber ketzerischen Irrlehren [57]. Dass dieses Duo (A. B.) auf *unigenitum* in eine *5 Terzen-Climax* mündet, gehört zwar in das Kapitel IX, bestätigt aber erneut die Beachtung der Fünfzahl.

Eine weitere *una*-Stelle des Credo, nun gleichzeitig in Hinblick auf die 3. niederländische Schule betrachtet, ist das *Et unam sanctam catholicam* .... ecclesiam. Josquins Messen *Fortuna* (G. A. Nr. IV) und *Da pacem* [58] bringen beide in 3 Stimmen je 4 *Tw*, also wiederum die Zwölf-

[52] Dufay, *Opera Omnia* (*CMM*) Edidit H. Besseler. Tomus III, Missarum pars altera, Rome, American Institute of Musicology, 1951.

[53] Johannes Ockeghem, *Collected Works,* ed. by Dragan Plamenac — im folgenden oft *G.A. II.* abgekürzt — American Musicol. Society enthält die Messen 9-16. Die darin enthaltene Missa „Mi mi" erschien auch in Blumes „Chorwerk" Heft 4 (Hrsg. Besseler). Vgl. hier Credo T. 138 ff.

[54] *Publikationen älterer Musik* (Theodor Kroyer): „Johannes Ockeghem. Sämtliche Werke", herausgegeben vom Dragan Plamenac — im folgenden oft *G.A. I.* abgekürzt — I. Leipzig, Breitkopf u. Härtel, 1927 (Messen 1-8). Hier Messe Nr. 2, Takt 69/77.

[55] Vorher hat der Sopran bei „factorem" ebenfalls 5 hintereinander folgende „Tw"s.

[56] *G.A. I.* S. 47, Takt 9.

[57] Johannes Bechoffen, *Quadruplex missalis expositio: litteralis scil., allegorica: tropologica et anagogica.* Siehe auch Franz (Tit. Fn. 43).

[58] Josquin, „Missa Da pacem" („Chorwerk" Heft 20) F. Blume, Wolfenbüttel, Möseler-Verlag, 1950, Credo Takt. 158 ff.

[59] Der genaue Nachweis, in welchen Messen die 12 Apostel durch die Zahl besonders unterstrichen sind und in welcher Weise dies gestaltet ist, wird u.a. in dem

zahl [59]. Dass *Brumel* in seinem schon eingangs erwähnten Werk am selben Text die gleiche Technik anwendet, verwundert kaum [60], dass er dabei das Wort „catholicam" im Gegensatz zu den vorhergehenden Takten in allen Stimmen fugiert (mit erneut 4 × 3 „Tw") beweist auch für Brumel die meisterhafte Stilmittel-Kombination und kann schon jetzt als Beleg für die textbezogene Fuga-Verwendung gelten: das Einheitliche, Ausnahmslose könnte nicht besser ausgedrückt werden.

Mit einem letzten *Tw*-Beispiel sei noch einmal das *Et incarnatus est* berührt. Betrachten wir Josquins *D'ung aultre amer* aus dem Liber II 1505 Petruccis (G.A. XI), so haben wir — was die Behandlungsweise dieser Textstelle anlangt, bereits die *Noëma*-Zeit vor uns, d.h. feierliche Akkord-Säulen, *12* an der Zahl (hier freilich durch den Tenor etwas verunklärt) erklingen bis „sancto"; darin aber behält der Sopran *7* und der Bass *5* mal denselben Ton bei. Sollte es nicht Absicht des Komponisten sein, dass gerade der „erdenschwere" Bass das Kreuz und die höchste Stimme den Himmel symbolisiert?

II. Wenn wir nach Wiederholungen genau-gleicher Tonfolgen in derselben Stimme suchen, merken wir erst so recht, wie sehr die Meister vor Obrecht das bekannte *redictae*-Verbot beachteten. Aber selbst dieser Vertreter der nördlicheren Niederlande geht mit wörtlichen Wiederholungen, d.h. Repetitiones auf gleicher Tonhöhe sparsam um. Textstellen die von Gleichheit handeln, regen hierzu naturgemäss an. Das „Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris" des Gloria, „Qui sedet . . . ." im Credo, das „Deum de Deo usw., consubstantialem" u.a. sind daher der „Tummelplatz" aller Stilmittel, die Substanzgleichheit ausdrücken können. Gern benutzt Obrecht den Bass, wie im *Qui sedet* der Messe *Sicut spina* [61] und im *consubstantialem Patri* des gleichen Werks, wo 3 wiederum markante und klar getrennte Schritte wiederholt werden [62]. Hier ist, wenn auch die einzige Quelle die Frage offen lässt, *rd* von Musik und Text anzunehmen. In Obrechts Messe X, *O quam suavis* gleicht, abermals der Bass, Credo Takt

angekündigten Buch gebracht werden. Nur die „Gemeinschaft" der 3 x 4 = 12 Tw des Taktes 222 „apostolica" ist in G.A. IV. gezählt.

[60] S. 13 in den *Opera Omnia* (Tit. vide Fn. 45).

[61] Jacob Obrecht, *Werken.* Uitgegeven door Prof. Dr. Johannes Wolf. (Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis) Amsterdam — im folgenden *G.A.* zitiert — Nr. 11, Credo, Bass Takt 159 f. Hier ist zwar nur ein kurzer, aber durch Pausen hervorgehobene zweitöniger Schritt wiederholt. Nach der der bekannten Tinctoris-Definition: „redicta nihil aliud est quam unius aut plurium conjunctionum continua repetitio" (Riemann-Tit. vide Fn. 35, S. 318) gehört also auch „una conjunctio", wenn sie wiederholt wird, zur „redictae"-Gattung. Hier und im folgenden Beispiel würde Burmeister von einer Anaphora (auf den Bass beschränkte Tongruppenwiederholung) sprechen.

[62] Bass Takt 53-56 in der *G.A.*

47/8 dem 49/50, zu einer Textwiederholung kommt es jedoch im Original wieder nicht, man darf aber wohl ein zweimaliges *de Deo* auch hier annehmen [63]. Wenn Wiora in seinem aufschlussreichen Josquin-Aufsatz [64] sagt: „Wiederholung oder Sequenz eines Motivs fordert, wenn auch nicht immer, entsprechende Textwiederholung", so trifft dies für die Zeit vor Josquin häufig nicht zu. Sehr oft hat die Wiederholung einer Tongruppe eine andere, architektonische Funktion, die uns hier weniger angeht. So werden z.B. in Obrechts Messe *Je ne demande* (Nr. 1 der G.A.) die Credo-Worte *per quem - omnia - propter - nos homines* im Sopran durch 4 (rein musikalische) *rd* eng aneinander „gekoppelt" [64a]. Dass dies Verfahren — neben *Isaac* — auch bei Josquin nicht selten ist, könnte zahlreich belegt werden. Hier genüge der Hinweis auf G.A. II *Qui cum Patre = et Filio,* G.A. VIII *Laudamus te = benedicimus te,* ähnlich G.A. VII [65].

Viel weiter als die niederländischen Meister geht in der Anwendung der Wiederholungstechnik der erstaunlich kühne Komponist der *Missa anonyma II* des Breslauer Codex Mf. 2016 [66]. Dieses vom Verf. s. Zt. als rein instrumental angesprochene Werk erweist sich als durchaus textbezogen und soll demnächst eine revidierte Betrachtung erfahren.

Es ist ganz verständlich, dass die Wiederholung auf anderer Tonstufe („Sequenz", „Polyptoton"), dem diatonischen Weiterlaufen entsprechend, bei dem Einbruch in das *redictae-Verbot* häufiger als die auf gleicher Tonhöhe erscheint. Dass hier neben der Steigerung auch eine Verbindung mit der *Anabasis* und *Katabasis* naheliegt, wird zu zeigen sein.

III. Wir sahen bereits, dass die als Ausnahme zugelassene Wieder-

[63] *G.A.* Nr. 10, Bass Takt 47/48-49/50. „de Deo Vero" erscheint erst *mit,* dann *ohne* Punktierung, flicht also das Antitheton „Strenge" — „Milde" (als Eigenschaften Gottes) ein.

[64] W. Wiora, „Der religiöse Grundzug im neuen Stil Josquins des Prez", in *Die Musikforschung,* VI. Jg. 1953, S. 35.

[64a] G.A.S. 17 f, Takt 87-98: Völlige, auch rhythmische, Identitas besteht zwischen „per quem" (rd 1) und „omnia" (rd 2) sowie zwischen „qui propter" (rd 3) und „nos homines" (rd 4) bei 7 Tönen (die Zusammensetzung dieser 7 ist bei rd 1/2 und 3/4 abweichend). Die in der Mitte liegenden rd „omnia und „qui propter" zitieren — wohl wegen des „omnia" — die 9 = Dreifaltigkeit.

[65] Solche Koppelungen gehen einerseits über Details hinweg, verbinden aber doch wohl in erster Linie Aehnliches wie z.B. die „Wir"-Gruppe im Gloria (Laudamus te, benedicimus te usw.). Dies Zeichen einer Auseinandersetzung zwischen musikalisch-bindenden und textlich trennenden Kräften ist darum besonders beachtlich, weil gerade der „Reservata"-Meister Josquin solche Koppelungen gern anwandte.

[66] Besonders auffällig ist die häufige Repetitio der Sopran-Figur im Credo Takt 35/6 = 37/8 = 41/2, die, wie fast der ganze Satz, textlos überliefert ist, aber vermutlich die „consubstantialem"-Stelle birgt. Den Neudruck dieser Messe vide. Fritz Feldmann, *Der Codex Mf. 2016 des Musikalischen Instituts bei der Universität Breslau,* 1932, II. Teil: Uebertragungen, S. 23.

holung in die Untergruppe „Nachahmung akustischer Erscheinungen" gehört, m.a.Worten, dass sie als *Assimilatio* innerhalb der grossen *Hypotyposis*-Gruppe auftritt. Nicht nur das bekannte *Gloria ad modum tubae* [67], sondern mehr noch auf das Einzelwort bezogene Details interessieren hier. Während nämlich dort vom „Gloria" aus das „schmetternde Fanfarenostinato" [68] des ganzen Gross-Satzes inspiriert zu sein scheint, taucht auch sonst — mindestens vorübergehend — beim Wort *Gloria Assimilatio* auf: mag es nun bei Dufays *Ecce ancilla*-Messe (*glorificamus te*) sein, wo sich das ggg e c des Soprans deutlichst heraushebt [69] oder in Ockeghems *cum gloria judicare* der Missa *Mi mi* [70]. Wie diese *Assimilatio* bei Josquin intensiviert wird, zeigt die Mustermesse seines Spätstiles *Pange lingua* am gleichen Text. Durch Pausen getrennt, löst der Bass mit seinem *cum gloria* das Oberstimmenpaar ab (3 × 4 *Tw* = 12!); doch damit nicht genug schmettert unabhängig davon der Tenor eine Rekordzahl von *12 Tw* allein und hintereinander heraus, während vorher die Aussenstimmen mit je *7-maliger Tw* an den Himmel als Ausgangspunkt des jüngsten Gerichts erinnern [71].

Isaac darf — im gleichen Textzusammenhang — mit seiner Petrucci-Messe „Quant jay au cor" [72] nicht fehlen. Note gegen Note erklingen hier um das lange Tenor-b herum die anderen Stimmen, aber mit der jeweils *fünfmaligen Tw,* wobei a l l e das eindringliche g (also 3 × 5) bringen, weist Isaac mehr als Josquin auf den Richter Christus hin. Davon hebt sich das *judicare* durch ein weiteres *Assimilatio*-Mittel ab: Punktierung soll an die Schärfe des Bläserklanges erinnern, sie läuft — vom rhythmischen Gesamtgefüge aus gesehen — zwischen den Stimmen hin und her (A.B.A.S.) Während hier die „Assimilatio" in leicht zu vermehrenden

[67] Vide *Acta musicologica* 22, 1950, 14. Ausg. *D.T.Oe* VII.

[68] Besseler, *Bourdon,* S. 84.

[69] Das Herausheben des Soprans als etwas anderes sollte wohl durch die cantisans-Clausula des Alts noch unterstrichen werden. Die dreimalige „Tw", hier wegen Assimilatio erlaubt, betont den Ausnahmecharakter weiterhin.

[70] Besselers Chorwerk-Ausgabe Credo Takt 120/121. Quartsprung und anschliessende „Tw" sind in der Apocope der Aussenstimmen deutlich genug als Fanfaren des Jüngsten Gerichts herauszuhören. Dass im Sopran dieser Apocope fünfmalige „Tw" verwendet wird, vertieft die Symbolik noch.

[71] Blumes „Chorwerk"-Ausgabe, Credo Takt 136/9. Die Zahl 5, der Richter Christus, fehlt nicht: Während der 7 g′ und 7 c des „iterum venturus" hat der Alt das e′ fünfmal pausenlos hintereinander.

[72] Aus dem Jahre 1506. Auf eine Neuausgabe der oftangekündigten Opera Omnia Isaacs kann hier leider nicht Bezug genommen werden, die Angaben entsprechen der Ms. Part. des Verf.

[73] Brumels „L'homme armé"-Messe (Credo Takt 67/8, S. 12, CMM, Ed. A. Carapetyan) sei wiederum als Beispiel herausgegriffen. Hier ist mit den 3 x 4 Tönen

Beispielen [73] an die Gerichtsposaunen direkt erinnert, ist die ebenfalls häufige „Schärfung" beim Wort *rex* erst vom Königsattribut her *„Trompeten* als Herrschervorrecht", dann „Strenge" überhaupt zu verstehen. Wenn Ockeghem sein Modell *Ma Maistresse* beim *rex coelestis* des Gloria rhythmisch „schärft" [74], so wiegt das hier wohl mehr [75] als die leicht zu bietende Fülle späterer Belege [76].

Neben der Bläser-Assimilatio spielt, namentlich bei *Isaac,* die *Glocken*-Nachahmung eine Rolle. Interessant ist dabei, dass in der schon genannten *Quant jay au cor*-Messe nicht nur zur *ecclesia*-Stelle Glocken erklingen, sondern auch — und dies ist sonst nicht üblich — beim *et incarnatus* [77].

Die andere, *Visuelles* und nicht Akustisches übertragende Figurengattung innerhalb der *Hypotyposis* soll nur kurz gestreift werden und muss der geplanten abschnittweisen Messbetrachtung überlassen bleiben. Die mannigfache Ausgestaltung des „sich-Beugens" beim *adoramus* und *simul adoratur,* seit Dufays *Se la face* und *L'homme armé*-Messe nachweisbar, die Schreibe-Hypotyposis bei *scripturas* [78] und das leidvolle Kreuz-Schleppen beim *Qui tollis* [79] seien wenigstens genannt.

IV. Ebenfalls nur mit einem Hinweis seien die beiden Stilmittel abgetan, die als einfachste und wohl älteste Figuren bildlichen Charakters gelten können: der „ascensus" = *Anabasis* und der „descensus" = *Katabasis.* Auch hier kann ein genauerer Vergleich recht vieler „Et ascendit in coelum", „resurrexit" und „descendit de coelis"-Stellen feinere Unterschiede im Schaffen der Meister zeigen. Ob alle oder nur eine Stimme und welche davon auf-bezw. absteigt, kann das beabsichtigte Gesamtbild der

der B/A/S-Fuga zweimal die 12-Zahl zitiert, auch bei „judicare" ist die Bläser-Assimilatio (durch C dur-Dreiklang) nochmals unterstrichen.

[74] Die Altstimme e. de f entspricht dem Sopran e d f der Vorlage („court bruit" usw.). Auch der Messsopran punktiert an dieser Stelle (zweimal).

[75] Ockeghems „L'homme armé" (*G.A.* I. S. 101) punktiert im Sopran und Bass bei „rex coelestis" ebenfalls.

[76] Ebenfalls beim „rex coelestis" punktieren z.B. Isaacs „Misericordias"-Messe, Brumels „L'homme armé" und Obrechts Messe Nr. 9 der G.A. („Si dedero") Bd. 3, S. 13. Hier, in der Duo-Fuga des A./B., ist wohl noch zwischen der unpunktierten „himmlisch"-milden Altstimme und dem erdgerichteten punktierten Bass absichtlich unterschieden worden.

[77] Die Christus-Fünf tritt hier zu diesem feierlichen Läuten der Unterstimmen durch 5 deutlich abgehobene „Kasten"-Noten des Soprans in Erscheinung

[78] Obrechts Messe „Je ne demande" — *G.A.* Nr. 1 — malt im Takt 181 ff (Sopran und Bass) das korrekte Auf-und-ab des Schreibens, während Brumels „L'homme armé" im Sopran (Takt 62) — allein und durch Pausen hervorgehoben — ein auffälliges, aber im Gegensatz zu Obrecht hastiges Auf-und-ab bringt.

[79] Vgl. hier Obrechts Messen *G.A.* II („Graecorum") S. 56 f den Sopran ab Takt 103 ff und IX, wo Altus cantisans den Sopran trägt, auch X: hier hat der Synkopen-Sopran den gesamten Brevis-Noten-Unterbau zu „schleppen".

Komposition wesentlich verändern. Gerade hier ist auch die Kombination mit anderen Figurae interessant.

Greifen wir Dufays letzte Messe *Ave regina* heraus, so ist hier die *Anabasis* beim *et ascendit in coelum* in 3 Stimmen vorhanden. Aber während der Bass (Takt 109) in Terzen und doch diatonisch gleichsam nach oben schwebt [80], sind die beiden Oberstimmen in ihrem Ascensus der ersten 5 Töne — fugiert — gleich, so dass nach unserer Terminologie eine *Apocope* (Teilfuge) entsteht, die im Hinblick auf die zu schildernde Zweiheit „Gott Vater"-„Gott Sohn" sinnvoll ist. Das die Fugierung nach dem 5. Ton aufhört, bei *sedet ad dexteram* (cc dd e h) mit genau 7 Tönen wieder einsetzt [81], dürfte in seiner symbolischen Absicht — Christus (5), jetzt im Himmel (7) — kaum zu bestreiten sein. Aber damit nicht genug, setzt bei *Et iterum venturus est* eine neue, nunmehr *15 tönige Apocope* ein, die durch ein Herabschweben des Basses (*Katabasis*) illustriert wird. Dass dies aber zu einer anderen Zeit eintreten wird, beim „jüngsten" Gericht, soll wohl die *Diminution* andeuten: erscheint doch im Takt 117 f der Ascensus von 109 verkürzt.

Dass auch bei *Ockeghem* die hier erörterten Figurae angewendet werden, wird kaum bezweifelt, während man ihm ja sonst ein engeres Wort-Tonverhältnis gern abstreitet [82]. In der Missa *De plus en plus* (G.A. V) ist die *Anabasis* zunächst (Alt 161f) in einem Oktavsprung, dann (164f) aber im Bass diatonisch (G bis g) verarbeitet unter *Metalepsis* [83] von Sopran und Tenor. Um auch bei *Josquin,* der das Stilmittel der Anabasis in noch verfeinerter Form anwendet, ein Beispiel zu zeigen, sei auf das *et ascendit in coelum* der *Pange lingua*-Messe hingewiesen. War vorhin bei Dufay die „Apocope", so ist hier (die beiden anderen Stimmen schweigen, wie soeben bei Ockeghem auch) die *Fuga* mit der *Anabasis* verbunden. Dass die letzten beiden Töne der Anabasis-Fuga im Tenor gedehnt sind [84], könnte unbeachtet bleiben, wäre nicht die bekannte Zahlensymbolik Christus (5) und Himmel (7) hineingeheimnisst: *zählt* man — wie dies bei Josquin Norm ist — nur die auch *rhythmisch völlig*

[80] ce df eg fa g.

[81] Dufay zählt hier nur die auch rhythmisch völlig gleichen Fugentöne, wie es später Josquin zu tun pflegt; in diesem Verhältnis zum Rhythmischen (hinsichtlich der Zahlensymbole) unterscheidet er sich von dem oft nur isomelisch zählenden Ockeghem.

[82] Georgiades, a.a.O.S. 42: „Wenn manchmal die Musik etwas von dem Vorstellungsgehalt der Sprache spiegelt, verwendet sie tektonische Mittel, so z.B. bei dem „descendit de coelis" eine absteigende Bewegung."

[83] Das Auslassen von Textworten durch Pausieren von Stimmen — bei Burmeister „Metalepsis" genannt — kann hier als Figur nicht besonders gewürdigt werden, obwohl es ein wichtiges Stilmittel ist.

[84] F. Blumes Chorwerk-Ausgabe, Takt 131 f.

gleichen Töne, so ergeben sich 5, zählt man *isomelisch* (bei *Ockeghems* Fugentechnik scheint dies üblich zu sein), so sind auch die 7 Töne durch abschliessende Pausen nach *coelum* klar erkennbar.

V. Wie sehr Tonart, Tonumfang und damit Höchst-bezw. Tiefstton beachtet wurden, hat B. Meier neuerdings stark betont [85]. Eine besondere Betrachtung der *tu solus altissimus*-Stellen muss, so reizvoll sie ist, hier unterbleiben, auch hier differieren die Mittel, dieses „Höchst" auszudrükken. Dass Dufays *Jacobus*-Messe auf *(al)tis(simus)* der Oberstimme den Spitzenton (c") — in diesem Abschnitt einzig — zuweist, dürfte für das Alter dieser Praxis sprechen [86]. Aber auch *Ockeghem* beachtet sie. Die Uebertragung *omnipotens* auf den *ganzen Tonumfang* mag dem heutigen Menschen äusserlich erscheinen, für das 15. Jahrhundert ist es nicht so. Die 3-stimmige Missa *V. toni* bringt bei diesem Wort den ganzen Umfang des Mezzosopranschlüssels vom g bis c" [87], in der berühmten *Mi mi* wird man den durch Pausen klar abgehobenen Satz *rex .... omnipotens* als Einheit nehmen müssen, hier aber sinkt der Sopran vom Spitzenton IV. toni noch um einen Ganzton unter die normale untere Grenze herab und stellt — figurenmässig gesehen — eine *Hypobole* dar.

Die Rücksicht auf den begrenzten Raum macht es verständlich, dass aus der Fülle möglicher Belege nur noch wenige herausgegriffen werden können, dass aber unserer Hauptaugenmerk auf die textlich noch umstrittene Zeit vor Josquin zu lenken ist.

VI. In diesem Sinne sei noch einmal *Ockeghem,* und zwar in seiner Stellung zu den *redictae* „von anderer Stufe" — um den jüngeren Terminus „Sequenz" zu vermeiden — betrachtet. Wie schon gesagt, ist vermöge des Höher-bzw. Tieferrückens der *rd* oft eine Verknüpfung mit der *Anabasis* bzw. *Katabasis* vorhanden. Auch bei dem *Et in spiritum*-Abschnitt in Ockeghems *L'homme armé*-Messe liegt ein solcher Ascensus vor: über den 3 Quart schritten he dg fb der Duo-Unterstimme rankt sich das c e.dd durch zweimalige Wiederholung ebenfalls terzweise in die Höhe. Statt des e, das die genaue „Sequenzierung" von der Oberterz aus einleiten müsste, steht aber hier eine Pause, während von der Quintstufe aus kein Ton ausgelassen ist. Dies Beispiel zeigt, wie das — nach Besseler [88] frühe — Werk das „redictas evitare" meistert, die Wiederholung verschleiert und doch das neue Mittel nicht ganz entbehren will. Es mag

[85] Bernhard Meier, „Die Handschrift Porto 714 als Quelle zur Tonartenlehre des 15. Jahrhunderts" in *Musica Disciplina,* Ed. A. Carapetyan Vol. VII. 1953, S. 177 ff und derselbe, „Caput" in *Die Musikforschung,* VII. Jg., S. 269 ff.

[86] Dufay, *Opera Omnia,* Bd. 4 (*CMM*), Rome AIM 1949 (Ed.: de Van). S. 11.

[87] Ockeghem, Ges. Ausg. I, Nr. 1. S. 2 (D. Plamenac).

[88] Besseler, *Bourdon.* S. 225.

für die Vor-Obrecht-Zeit genügen [89]. Um wieviel mehr demgegenüber Obrecht *Redictae* auch mit descensus verband, kann — statt weiterer anderer — an der Missa *Ave Regina* (G.A. Nr. 12) nachgeprüft werden. Die „Wir"-Stelle der Gloria: *Laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te* (auch oft noch „glorificamus te") enthält für die Meister ab Obrecht anscheinend so viel Gemeinsames, dass gerade hier Wiederholungen der musikalischen Substanz häufig zu beobachten sind. Zugunsten der musikalischen Einheitlichkeit scheinen die „Details" in den Hintergrund zu treten. Das mag wohl auch zur Bewältigung der riesenhaften Breitflächigkeit notwendig geworden sein — umfasst doch unsere Messe im Gloria etwa so viel wie der gleiche Satz in Ockeghems „Mi mi" und Josquins „Pange lingua" zusammen![90]. Was bei Ockeghem noch Ausnahme und verdeckt, ist jetzt Usus und offen. Dennoch hat das neue Mittel hier offensichtlich seine Aufgabe nicht nur der Formung, sondern auch dem Text gegenüber, trotz anscheinender Detailfeindlichkeit, und darum hat es Figuren-Eigenschaft. Auf die Engelsverkündigung der Oberstimmen *Et in terra pax* setzt nach *hominibus* der volle Chor (incl. Cantus firmus) ein und führt in riesenhafte *Katabasis* die frohe Botschaft zur Erde herab: Wie der Bass-*As*census in Dufays gleichnamiger Messe („Et ascendit in coelum" war es dort) so geschieht hier der Descensus terzweise-diatonisch f d es c d b c a usw. Dies ist stark formend ebenso wie die taktweise Katabasis des Tenor-c.f., melodisch aber beherrscht die stets eine Stufe tiefer wiederholte Sopran-Figur alles. Damit kein Zweifel an dem himmlischen Ursprung dieser Botschaft entsteht, geschieht in den Unterstimmen dies alles *siebenmal* [91], ja der wiederum in einem Takt schon *siebentönige Sopran* bringt die Himmelszahl in ihrer Potenz [92].

VII. Die später *Pathopoiia* genannte Figur — durch tonartfremde Erniedrigung gekennzeichnet, in der Messe genauer zu verfolgen, hiesse vor allem die verschiedenen *Miserere*-Stellen vergleichen. Auf weitere Bei-

[89] Ockeghems Missa „Ma Maistresse" wiederholt im Sopran Takt 29/30 die 4 Noten auf „Deus" und „Pater" einen Ton tiefer; die Pause vor der ersten Note und die nicht wiederholenden Unterstimmen mögen dem Meister als Milderung des „redicta"-Charakters ausgereicht haben.

[90] Ockeghems Gloria ist 113, Josquins 107 und Obrechts 231 Takte lang!

[91] Dass mit den 7 „redictae" auch die Zahl von 7 Takten sich deckt, ist ein weiterer Beweis, wie die regelnde Kraft des Tactus sich bei Obrecht durchsetzt, eine Erscheinung, auf die Gombosi (*Jacob Obrecht. Eine stilkritische Studie,* Leipzig, Breitkopf u. Härtel, 1925) mit Recht hinweist.

[92] Das Wort „Harmoniesequenz" trifft hier nicht ganz zu, da der Alt auf „Laudamus" die Rückungen noch nicht mitmacht, also ein wenig „redicta"-verschleiernde Funktion hat, bis vom „benedicimus te" ab auch er mit eigenem descensus dem Gesamt-Abstieg sich einfügt. Damit wird gleichzeitig das „Laudamus" etwas abgehoben.

spiele dieser Erscheinung bei Dufay — Besseler nennt sie „Terzfreiheit" — muss hier verzichtet werden. Dass der Reservata-Meister Josquin sie bringt, dass sie als „affekthaltige" Figur in der eindringlichen Barocksprache grösste Beliebtheit (vgl. auch Thuringus) gewann, ist bekannt. Um in unserer Frühzeit klar zu sehen, müsste — wie es Meier tut — jeweils eine genaue Tonarten-Analyse erfolgen, das würde zu weit führen. Besonderes Augenmerk verdient dabei auch die harmonische Seite. Gewiss ist es eine primär lineare, exceptionelle Halbtönigkeit (z.B. „d es d"), die B- und Es-dur Dreiklänge herbeiführt, es hiesse aber wohl zu weit gehen, wollte man den Meistern des 15. Jahrhunderts die Rücksicht auf den Zusammenklang absprechen; ein Zufallsergebnis war er bestimmt nicht. Die häufigen Es- und B-Dreiklänge (bzw. c moll u.a.) an Stellen wie *rex coelestis* [93], *solus sanctus .... altissimus* [94], *Deus* [95], die sich von der Umgebung klanglich stark abheben, ermutigen fast dazu, hier von einer „Trias devotionis" zu sprechen; wobei der Blick auf die „Devotio moderna" wohl am meisten das Recht dazu gibt.

VIII. War soeben für die Frage der melodischen Erniedrigung (b und es) auf eine genauere Untersuchung der *miserere*-Stellen, hinsichtlich der harmonischen auf *Deus* u.a., hingewiesen worden, so wäre, wie schon oben gesagt, eine systematische Nachprüfung der *peccata*-Stellen notwendig. Diese Auffassung setzt freilich voraus, dass man ein solches Eingehen auf das Einzelwort bei den hier betrachteten Meistern für möglich hält. Dass dies der Fall, wenn auch nicht für *jedes* Wort die Regel ist, dürfte schon jetzt nicht mehr zweifelhaft sein. Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass die reinen Quinten in Ockeghems vielbewunderter *Missa cuiusvis toni* (Credo Takt 162/3), mögen sie auch an nicht gerade exponierter Stelle angebracht sein [96], unbeabsichtigt sind; der Text (*in remissionem*) *peccatorum* scheint jedenfalls auch hier das textbezogene Arbeiten dieses Meisters zu bestätigen.

IX. Gerade dieser Blickpunkt lässt uns am gleichen Werk hinsichtlich längerer Folgen von unvolkommenen Konsonanzen — für die wir schon der Kürze wegen den Figurenterminus *Climax* („Clx") benutzen wollten — folgendes feststellen: Nach der vorherigen, vierstimmigen „Gott-Vater"-

[93] Ockeghem, Missa Prolationum — Ges. Ausg. Plamenac, II. Bd. der Messen, Gloria, 31 f, 33 f.
Isaac, Missa „Misericordias", Takt 31 f (Ms. Part. des Verf.) F+B+ Es+ F+d° C+ usw.

[94] Obrecht, Missa „Je ne demande" — *G.A.* Nr. 1; Isaac, Missa „Misericordias", Gloria T. 83 u. 86; Josquin, Missa Ges. Ausg. Nr. 4, Gloria T. 117 (B+Es+d°).

[95] Ockeghem, *G.A.* Nr. 12, Credo sine nomine, T. 24 „Deum de Deo".
Obrecht, *G.A.* Nr. 10, T. 38 „Deum de Deo".
Die Beispiele könnten leicht vermehrt werden.

[96] Zwischen Sopran und Tenor; die anderen Stimmen verhüllen das „peccatum"!

Stelle des Credo-Anfanges ist *Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum Filium .... Dei unigenitum* durch das Alt-Bass-Duo (S.T. tacent) klar abgegrenzt. Dass jetzt von Christus die Rede ist, betont der Bass durch *5 Primschritte* („Tw"), am Ende des Satz-Abschnitts aber vereinigen sich die beiden Stimmen zu einer „Einheit" von *5 Terzen* [97], geben also vorübergehend ihre Individualität, ihre „Zwei-heit" auf. Dass abermals die Christuszahl erklingt und dass schliesslich zu ihrer Realisierung der Verschmelzungsklang der Climax benutzt wird, um das Wort *unigenitum* zu versinnbildlichen, zeigt wohl zur Genüge, wie ernst es der grosse Mystiker mit seinem Text nahm.

Stets geht es uns ja darum, die *bewusste* Anwendung all der hier betrachteten Stilmittel der Zeit zu zeigen. Dazu half die erstaunlich genaue Zahlenmystik. Auch in 3 ganz *verschiedenen* Vertonungen des *quoniam tu solus sanctus* (Gloria) begegnet uns die *gleiche* Figur *und Zahl*: immer ist mit dem „heilig" hier das *Himmelssymbol* und die *Climax* verknüpft. Gemeint ist einmal Ockeghems Missa *Ma Maistresse,* wo die beiden Unterstimmen mit *7 sanctus-Terzen* diesen Teilabschnitt vom folgenden abschliessen [98], also eine gliedernd-formale, ja steigernde, aber auch textgebundene Funktion haben; ferner *Josquins* Messe *Una musque de Buscaya* [99]: sie zeigt dabei das Klarheitsstreben seiner jüngeren Generation durch Generalpausen (*Aposiopesis* der Figurenlehre) vor dem „Quoniam"-Beginn, *Noëma*-Unterstreichung mit *5*(!) gemeinsamen Akkorden und siebenmalige Aussenstimmen-Dezimen auf „sanctus" [100]. Der im „Livre de la Deablerie" von 1508 mit Josquin zusammen gerühmte *Brumel* [101] sei auch hier mit einem ähnlichen Beispiel vertreten; dass er dabei die unterstreichenden *7 Dezimen* („A.-Clx") auf *solus* verlagert, kein *N,* keine *Aposiopesis* zwecks schärferer Gliederung bringt, sei kurz erwähnt.

Es ergäbe ein schiefes Bild, wenn unsere bisherige Auslassung Dufays den Anschein erweckte, als sei die *Clx*-Figur bei *Dufay* nicht vertreten. Dass dies unwahrscheinlich ist, versteht sich bei dem Meister des Fauxbourdon von selbst. Die von Nucius für die „Clx"-Figur betonte steigernde und abschliessende Funktion, ist auch hier — wie oben bei dem Ockeghembeispiel schon zu spüren. Die Dreiklangsmelodik auf *conglorificatur* (Sopran Takt 139) mündet in der *Se la face*-Messe *in 5 Dezimen*-Paral-

[97] *G.A.* Messen Bd. 2, Credo T. 11, die 5 „Tw" Takt 8/9.

[98] Ockeghem, *G.A.* Nr. 8 (Bd. 2) S. 122, Takt 98/99 — Sopran tacet.

[99] Nr.10 der *G.A.,* S. 98; zur Gruppe der Petrucci-Messen, Liber II 1505 gehörig.

[100] Also Aposiopesis +5 N+ 7 A. Clx. Die feierliche Wirkung des Noemas ist durch die weiter oben besprochene „Trias devotionis" (Es+) noch erhöht.

[101] Vgl. Schmidt-Görg, „Brumel" (in: *MGG* II, Spalte 400).

S. F. T. 63 in Carapetyans L'Homme Armé-Ausgabe.

lelen der Aussenstimmen [102] ein; das mag noch wenig gegenüber der „Clx"-Häufung etwa bei Isaak sein, auch hier aber scheint der Text die Anwendung des Stilmittels (*gloria* vgl. oben *Assimilatio*!) angeregt zu haben. Wiederum muss es unterbleiben, eine Liste der hauptsächlichen *A.-Clx* Stellen in den Gloria-Credo-Sätzen hier anzufügen, zu untersuchen, welche Textstellen hierfür bevorzugt werden und wie sich die Meister darin unterscheiden. Dass *Isaac,* auch Arrigo Tedesco genannt, durch Häufigkeit und Länge von *Dezimenketten* hervorragt, könnte nun doch wieder die regionale Frage aufkommen lassen, sieht doch der Deutsche Adam von Fulda dieses „vitium" wesentlich milder an: „Früher wurden nur 3-4 unvollkommene Konsonanzen nacheinander erlaubt; heute gibt man auch längere Reihen frei, besonders Dezimen" [103] u.zw. *cum ornatum reddant.* Dass das *nos tamen moderniores .... non prohibemus,* d.h. die Lockerung des Verbots, mit dem Hinweis auf den *Ornamentcharakter* erklärt wird, deckt sich dabei ganz mit der *Funktion* der *„Figura". Isaacs* Missa *Misericordias* [104] kann jedenfalls als gutes Beispiel für eine abnorm hohe *A.-Clx*-Benutzung gelten; aber auch hier verbindet sich mit dem Auskosten des Vollklanges Tieferes: *et invisibilium* 12 ... *et in unum Dominum* 7 .... *unigenitum* 5 *omnia saecula* 7 .... *lumen de lumine* 7 (genitum non) *factum* 10 .... *nos homines* 7 *A.-Clx,* diese Liste — die noch lange nicht alle „A.-Clx" des Mess-Satzes bringt, ist mit ihren Zahlen zugleich ein Stück Mess-Text-Exegese.

Gewiss war bei dieser Häufigkeit des Klangmittels eine Entwertung insofern eingetreten, als eine Beschränkung auf wenige Textgedanken, denen die *A.-Clx* etwa vorbehalten blieb, dort schwer festzustellen ist. Das fällt in der bezüglich *Clx* sparsameren Zeit *Ockeghems* leichter. In der *Missa cuiusvis toni* dieses Meisters ist das *per quem omnia facta sunt* gerade beim Wort *omnia* mit einer *A.-Clx*-Kette — wiederum 5 an der Zahl [105] — versehen.

X. Die eben genannte *omnia*-Vertonung, bei der doch wohl das klangsinnliche Moment des „Vollklanges" die Anregung gegeben hat, ist besonders gut geeignet, zum *Fauxbourdon* überzuleiten: gestaltet doch Ockeghem eine andere *omnia*-Stelle, u.zw. in der *L'homme armé*-Messe, wenn auch nur kurz, mit *Fauxbourdon* aus [106]. Offen muss die Frage

[102] *G.A.* S. 19, Takt 140.

[103] Uebersetzung Hugo Riemanns' *Geschichte der Musiktheorie,* Berlin (Hesse), S. 323.

[104] Petrucci, Missae, Ms. Part. des Verfassers, T. 10/11 f.

[105] Lediglich zwischen der 4. und der 5. Dezime (Takt 25 in *G.A.,* S. 48) ist im Sopran eine abspringende Nebennote eingeschaltet.

[106] *G.A.,* S. 105, Takt 31 — ohne Bass! Es sind freilich nur 3 Sextakkorde, teilweise noch durch Synkopen verschleiert.

bleiben, ob der Gedankengang „omnia" = „ganze Christenheit" = „catholica et apostolica ecclesia" dazu führte, dass sowohl der junge Ockeghem (*L'homme armé*) *und* der späte Dufay (*Ave Regina*-Messe) die *ecclesia*-Vertonung in Sextakkord-Folgen einmünden liessen. Da bei Ockeghem die *Fxb*-Stelle — wie bei „omnia" auch basslos, also nur 3 stimmig ist [107], ergeben die 4 x 3 Fxb-Töne wiederum die „Kirchenzahl" *12*, doch würde zur Anbringung dieser Symbolik nicht der *Fxb* benötigt. *Dufay* z.B. bringt in unserem Gegenbeispiel die Zwölfzahl kurz vor dem *Fxb* durch *eine 6 tönige A.-Clx*-Kette (die ja durch Zusammenzählung der beiden Stimmen *12* ergibt [108], und erweist damit wohl auch die enge Verwandtschaft der beiden Stilmittel [109]. Betrachtet man die nicht übermässig zahlreichen Fxb-Mess-Stellen [110] auf ihre Textbezogenheit hin, so fällt als besonders deutlich das (*Et exspecto in*) *remissionem peccatorum* in Dufays *Ecce ancilla*-Messe auf. Man könnte wegen des ziemlich syrrhythmischen Fortschreitens und der vorher abgrenzenden gemeinsamen Pausen der Oberstimmen fast von einem *Noëma* sprechen. Wenn nun in diesem nur 3-stimmigen Satz (Tenor tacet!) auf *remissionem* in kunstvoll verschleierter, auf *peccatorum* [111] gleichsam „simpliciter" je 3 Sextakkorde aufeinander folgen, so ist liegt der Gedanke an Ockeghems Quinten-„peccata" beim gleichen Text immerhin nahe. Nicht das Verwenden des *Fxb* im kunstvollen Satz (remissionem, sondern in der rohen Gestalt bei *peccatorum* wäre damit als Symbol eines Fehltritts gebrandmarkt. Dieser Erwägung kann mit einigen Recht die *resurrectionem*-Stelle in Dufays *L'homme armé*-Messe gegenübergestellt werden, weil auch hier [112] 2 + 1 Sextakkord verwendet ist. Gemessen am vorigen Beispiel ist dies aber nicht so simpel, ja es fällt in der rhythmisch verhakten „resurrectionem"-Melodik wenig auf. Wichtiger ist, dass kurz vorher in Dufays *L'homme armé* die *peccatores* ebenfalls charakterisiert wurden: fisg cisd a g b

[107] Takt 143, 4 Fxb — ohne Bass! [108] S. 110, Takt 175 der Gesamt-Ausgabe.

[109] Zur Erklärung, warum gerade bei „ecclesia" Fxb-Klang angebracht wurde, könnte man auch die „Assimilatio" heranziehen: wie Isaac bei demselben Wort Glockenklang bringt, so würde dann der Fxb als „typischer Kirchenstil" gemeint sein. Dies ist freilich schon deshalb wenig wahrscheinlich, weil der Fxb hier nicht besonders deutlich ausgeprägt ist.

[110] Auf Vollständigkeit kann bei der immer noch schweren Erreichbarkeit mancher Quellen und Neuausgaben keineswegs Anspruch erhoben werden.

[111] *G.A.*, S. 82, Takt 182 ff: c d. c
g a. g
e f. e ist die „peccatorum"-Stelle.

[112] *G.A.* Takt 246 — Bass tacet!

stehen im Takt 240 nebeneinander! Nicht etwa die „Parallelkadenz" überhaupt [113], sondern wiederum das *grobe* Parallelführen der Oberstimmen-Quarten ohne jede synkopische Milderung — wobei die zusammenfallenden doppelten Leittöne hier nicht einmal Paenultima einer richtigen Klausel werden —, all das dürfte beweisen, dass Dufay genau wie Ockeghem zuweilen solche *peccata*-Stellen bewusst charakterisierten. Damit gewänne obige Hypothese: *syrrhythmischer Fxb* als *peccatum* an Wahrscheinlichkeit.

Die Frage „Fauxbourdon und Text" wird stets dann erhöhte Bedeutung haben, wenn *mehrfache* Belege für *denselben* Satzabschnitt vorliegen. Das ist der Fall bei *Domine Fili. Ockeghem,* dessen bewusste Gestaltung gerade dieser Textstelle wir oben kennen lernten, dürfte in seiner *L'homme armé*-Messe durch Fxb-Anwendung das Liebevolle des Gottessohnes gemeint haben. Zur Unterstreichung kann er gar nicht genug zahlensymbolisch auf Christus hinweisen: zur klaren Fünfer-Kette des *Fxb* kommt auf *unigenite* (T. 31) der fünffache Terzengang als Verschmelzungssinnbild, wie er in der „Missa cuiusvis toni" ebenfalls vorkommt; damit nicht genug, hat die klar abgehobene Bassbewegung auf *Domine* mit ihren *15* Tönen das Symbol wiederum in sich erhalten [114]. Seinem grösseren Deutlichkeitsstreben entsprechend, macht es uns Obrecht in seiner Missa *Je ne demande* noch leichter, seinen Ausdruckswillen zu erkennen. Note gegen Note — man denkt an das *Puerile,* das Tinctoris dieser Setzweise nachsagt — ist der *Fili*-Takt gehalten, lauter Minimen wie in einer kontrapunktischen *Schüler*-Aufgabe, vor allem aber: der Unterbau besteht aus *5*(!) strengen Fauxbourdonketten, genauer gesagt 15 Minimen, die diesen Fxb bilden [115].

Wie sehr die funktionale, d.h. figurenmässige Fxb-Verwendung bei den einzelnen Meistern verschieden ist, mag daran gesehen werden, dass Josquin — im Gegensatz zu den älteren Meistern mehrfach an der Stelle *secundum scripturas* des „Et resurrexit"-Abschnittes auch hier stets *fünfmal*! — *Fxb* bringt [116]. Wiederum könnte man angesichts dieser Duplizität,

[113] Vgl. Besseler, *Bourdon.* S. 33 und die dort gegebenen Beispiele einer vorschriftsmässigen Parallelkadenz.

[114] Das cis ist original.

[115] *G.A.* Nr. 1, S. 7, Takt 60. Die beiden angedeuteten Möglichkeiten: Fxb-Klang für liebevoll-intimere, also affekthaltige Textstellen und andererseits die besonders bei Obrecht deutliche Gedankenverbindung „Fili-Knäblein-puerile Setzweise" klaffen gewiss schärfstens auseinander; auf jeden Fall wird man kunstvollen und simpelen Fxb unterscheiden müssen. Hier und bei Dufays Fxb-„peccatores" könnte es gleichsam ein Seitenhieb gegen die „sortisatio" sein!

[116] I. Josquins, Messe *G.A.* 4 („Fortuna") S. 92, T. 153 bildet den Fxb in alter Weise nur mit den 3 Oberstimmen-Bassus tacet! Die Christuszahl ergibt sich aus 4 . . + 1 Sextakkorden.

II. Josquin, Messe *G.A.* 6 („Ave Maris"). Die beiden Werken gehören 2 verschiedenen Petrucci-Ausgaben an, I dem Liber I, II dem Liber II (1505).

fern von jeder modern-ästhetischen Interpretation und ähnlich obigem „peccata- und „puerile"-Gedanken eine *satztechnische Lösung* erwägen: Sollte Josquin bei den „Schriften der Alten" an die „veraltete" Fxb-Setzweise gedacht haben? Aber auch hier wirken andere Parallel-Stellen verwirrend. Wenn eine der beiden eben genannten JosquinMessen (G.A. Nr. 6) vor „scripturas" das *tertia die* durch 7 *Fxb*-Klänge illustriert (man zählt insgesamt 3 + 4 + 4 + 1), wenn an der gleichen Stelle auch die Missa *pange lingua Fxb* benutzt [117], so kann man immer noch bei der satztechnischen Deutung (*tertia* = *Terzklang*) bleiben. Schwerer fällt es bei Obrechts *Je ne demande,* wo nicht „tertia" oder „scripturas", sondern, den Auferstehungsgedanken einleitend, die 3 Unterstimmen *Et resurrexit* singen, u.zw. in Semibreven 5 schlichte, breite, noch rhythmisch „leblose" (noch totenstarre?) Sextakkorde, ehe mit dem Sopran-Eintritt der Jubel (mit viel *rd* und *Clx*) beginnt [118]. Nun lässt sich — wenn nicht zum gleichen, so doch zum ähnlichen Textgedanken — eine Parallele finden: Ockeghems *Et ascendit in coelum, sedet ad dexteram patris* des *Credo sine nomine* [119]. Statt einer Anabasis eine schlichte *Fauxbourdonkette,* 6 + 0 + 6 + 2 an der Zahl, wie üblich bei Ockeghem basslos, melodisch in diesem Falle eindeutig vom Sopran-c.f. her [120] bestimmt! Selbst die c.f.-Töne dieses Abschnitts ergeben genau *12* [121]; aber es geht dem Meister wohl noch um anderes: das *ascendit* ist ganz dem *sedet ad dexteram* geopfert, das *„Sitzen"* und die Gleichheit von Gott Vater und Sohn (6 + 6 Fxb) und das „Eins-Sein" — bei „unigenite" bringt Ockeghem gern Clx-Ketten — sind durch den Verschmelzungsklang sinnvoll symbolisiert. Wenn wir nun, abermals bei Obrechts *Je ne demande* [122], hier zum *Patris* hin verlagert, Christuszahl und schlichte Sextakkordreihe zweimal vorfinden, so liegt eine weitere Duplizität vor, die immerhin beachtlich ist.

Gewiss sind dies alles noch mosaikartige Bausteine; noch mehr Beispiele und nicht nur aus Gloria-Credo müsste herangezogen werden, bis Endgültige zur Frage „Fauxbourdon als Figur" gesagt werden könnte. Noch schillert das Problem nach allen Seiten: *Fxb* für *peccata* [123], für

[117] Chorwerkausgabe Takt 126/7 des Credo. Deutlich syrrhythmisch sind hier 3, nur klanglich — mit synkopisch sich ergebenden Sextakkorden — betrachtet jedoch 5 vorhanden.

[118] *G.A.* (J. Wolf) I, S. 20, Takt 155 f. [119] *G.A.* II, S. 61.

[120] „Et resurrexit" (vorher) hat den c.f. in der Altstimme (Sopran tacet) und das folgende „Et iterum" ist über dem Bass-c.f. aufgebaut.

[121] Die c.f.-Töne nach der Markierung von D. Plamenac. Dass sich c.f.- und Fxb-Töne nicht immer decken und doch — auf verschiedenen Wegen — genau die 12-Zahl erreichen, bestätigt die absichtliche Symbolverwendung noch mehr.

[122] G.A. Nr. 1, Gloria (S. 10, T. 124) und Credo (S. 22, T. 207 f); in beiden Fällen beim *ad dexteram patris.* In diesen — mit Ockeghem — drei Beispielen dürfte also der Verschmelzungsklang des Fxb klar textbezogen sein.

omnia, tertia findet musikalisch-*satztechnisch* die *einfachste Erklärung,* selbst *Filius* kann damit zusammenhängen und auch der späte *scripturas*-Fall Josquins. Dass aber im vertieften Sinne auf der anderen Seite eine klangsymbolische Fxb-Verwendung, etwa beim Bild der Unio mystica, des erhöhten und thronenden, wohl auch des noch im Grabe ruhenden Christus, vorlag, ist gleichfalls nicht abwegig und als Parallele zur Zahlensymbolik durchaus verständlich.

XI. Der Fxb als Ausgangspunkt unserer Erörterungen musste etwas breiteren Raum einnehmen; das ist bei der Untersuchung der weiteren „Figuren" nicht möglich, obwohl auch hier genug Probleme vorhanden sind und viel reicheres Material. Dass z.B. das *Noëma* und der Fauxbourdon verwandt sind, liegt nahe; welche Unterschiede aber in der „funktionalen" Verwendung bestanden, ist noch unklar. Interessant wäre es auch, dieses typisch Josquinsche Stilmittel in die frühere Zeit hinauf zu verfolgen. Schon in Dufays *Jacobi*-Messe ist das streng syrrhythmische Duo *Domine Fili* und *Jesu Christe* [124] in dieser Richtung zu betrachten, wobei das Letztere durch die feierlich ausklingenden Fermaten, mehr noch das 3-stimmige *ex Maria virgine* [125] des Credo auffällig sind. Die noch schlichtere *Missa sine nomine* Dufays bestätigt das Alter des *Jesu Christe*-Noëmas. Dass in dieser frühen Messe Dufays auch das *suscipe* [126] schlicht Note gegen Note gesetzt ist, reizt zum weiteren Verfolgen, da bei den späteren Meistern von Ockeghem, Obrecht bis Josquin leicht ein ganzes Dutzend von Messen mit „suscipe"-Noëma nachgewiesen werden könnte [127]. Wenn wir dazuhalten, dass beim *Jesu Christe* und *suscipe* seitens des Priesters eine „Inclinatio" mittleren Grades („cum capitis et scapularum inclinatione") üblich war, so hat das *N* hier über seine bekannte rein musikalische Unterstreichungs-Funktion hinaus noch geradezu eine *liturgische* [128]. Ockeghems *Mi mi*-Messe hat dies *N* in ausgeprägter

[123] Ein möglicherweise hierher gehöriger Fall ist das „Qui tollis peccata" (*G.A.* Nr. 1, S. 41, Takt 32/3, 35/6 und S. 47 im Agnus dei der „Je ne demande"-Messe Obrechts. Sündenlast-Tragen — als Hypotyposis- oder Fxb als „Peccata-Symbol — das ist hier die Frage! Dass je 5 Fxb erscheinen, ist uns schon selbstverständlich geworden.

[124] Dufay, *Opera Omnia,* Bd 4 (*CMM*), Rome AIM 1949, S. 9, Takt 35/6 und 39 ff. Ob auch hier die Setzweise Note gegen Note (ähnlich dem simplen „Fili"-Fxb Obrechts) mit dem „puerile" zusammenhängt, kann nur gefragt werden.

[125] Dufay, *Opera Omnia* Bd. 4 (*CMM*) Rome, AIM 1949, Seite 17, Takt 70 ff.

[126] Dufay, *Opera Omnia* Bd. 3 (*CMM*) Rome, AIM 1949, Seite 7, Takt 87 ff — Jesu Christe — und „suscipe", S. 6.

[127] Hinsichtlich der einzelnen Belege muss auf das angekündigte Buch verwiesen werden.

[128] Vgl. die Handschrift Ms. München, Staatsbibl. Cod. lat. 18548, fol. 82 r/v (15. Jh.). Auf die kultische Verwurzelung des „Jesu Christe", „suscipe", „Et incar-

Weise [129]. Das Auffallende, Abweichende, was ja zum Begriff *N* gehört, kann kaum deutlicher herausgehoben werden, weil gerade Ockeghems Stil dem syrrhythmischen Prinzip so entgegengesetzt ist. Hier zeigt sich aber wieder, wie eng das „N" mit dem besprochenen Stilmittel *Tw* verbunden ist. Die 4 Stimmen wiederholten auf *suscipe* dreimal denselben Ton (= 12), während das *deprecationem* sich mit seinen 4 × 5 *Tw* an Christus wendet. Gewiss sind gerade die „N"- und „Tw"-Stellen Ansatzpunkte für das Eindringen des Wortrhythmus in die zunächst andersartige niederländische Musik, dass aber das *rezitierende* Moment *nicht selbstherrlich,* sondern im Dienste einer *Mystik* auftritt, die — fern aller Spielerei — *Wesenhaftes* meint, muss stark beachtet werden.

Zwei *Josquinsche „suscipe*-Stellen mögen dem Ockeghemschen Beispiel gegenübergestellt werden: die Missa *Una musque* .... (G.A. Nr. 10) und die *Pange lingua*-Messe. Die beiden Betätigungsfelder der Zahlensymbolik sind hier vertauscht. Ruft bei der letzteren die *siebenfache* völlige *rhythmische* Gleichheit des *N* den Himmel an, und ist die Schöpfung und ecclesia durch die 4 × 3 = *12 Tw* angesprochen [130], so zitiert die erstere Messe mit *12 N*-Akkorden die Welt, während sie sich mit ihren *5 + 2 Tw* an den Mittler Christus und den Himmel überhaupt wendet [131].

Berücksichtigen wir weiter, dass im Credo das *simul adoratur* von einer gleichen *inclinatio* des Priesters begleitet war wie das *suscipe,* so werden auch diese Noëma-Stellen [132] verständlicher, obwohl ja hier schon das Wort „simul" ein *N* erklären könnte, freilich mehr auf das Einzelwort beschränkt und nicht im ganzen Abschnitt.

Die ebenfalls liturgische Verneigungsstelle *Et incarnatus est* in ihrer Ausgestaltung bei den niederländischen Meistern zu verfolgen, muss der angekündigten Buch-Veröffentlichung überlassen bleiben. Jedenfalls ist in den älteren Messen des 15. Jh. der Noëma-Beginn durchaus nicht sogleich beim *Et incarnatus* da, wie es ja — lt. P. Wagner [133] — im 16. Jh. Norm war, sondern in einzelnen Sätzen dieses Abschnittes wie *ex Maria virgine* [125] bezw. *et homo factus est.* Gerade hier bei den frühen und stets kultisch

natus est" weist bereits O. Ursprung in: Katholische Kirchenmusik (Bücken, *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft,* Potsdam, Athenaionverlag) S. 177 hin.

[129] Gloria Takt 75 ff im „Chorwerk" (Besseler).

[130] „Chorwerk" (Blume) Takt 67 ff.

[131] *G.A.* Nr. 10 (Liber II der Petrucci-Messen 1505) S. 97, Takt 66 ff.

[132] Hierher gehören: Ockeghem, Missa cuiusvis toni (*G.A.* I, S. 51, Takt 126 ff) obwohl es nicht in allen 4 Stimmen klar ausgeprägt ist; Josquins Messe Ges. Ausgabe III (Tenor c.f. macht zwar auch nicht mit!) Seite 70, T. 216 f. Syrrhythmisch sind hier 7 Akkorde; besonders deutlich in der „N"-Messe Josquins (Nr. 12) *G.A.* Seite 14, T. 129 f wo der ganze Komplex „qui cum patre .. adoratur" mit 14, „et conglorificatur" mit 7 Noëma-Säulen" ausgestattet ist.

[133] Vgl. Peter Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe,* S. 191 f, 217, 492 u.a.

bedingten Mess-Noëmen ist die *Fermaten*-Verknüpfung — wie es die italienische Lauda [134] liebte — typisch. Diese *Sondererscheinung,* die das *N* auch *rhythmisch* vom normalen Gefüge abhebt, indem sie den tactus-Ablauf unterbricht, ja *auflöst,* musste mit der zahlenmässigen Zunahme des „N" zurücktreten, als *extremes* Merkmal gegenüber dem sonst fliessenden ununterbrochenen „Einheitsablauf" [135] bleibt sie bezeichnend. Verwandt, aber gerade für die jüngere Zeit eines Josquin und Isaac kennzeichnend, ist die schon erwähnte Generalpause — Aposiopesis der Figurenlehre —, die durch ihre Aufmerksamkeit-heischende Eigenschaft ihren Figurencharakter erweist und als *N*-Verstärkung gelten kann. Als letzte, mit dem *N* gern verbundene Figur sei noch einmal auf die Dezimen-Parallelen (*A.-Clx*) hingewiesen. Nicht nur, weil sie die breitflächige Klangwirkung intensivieren, sondern auch als Hilfsmittel im Dienste der Zahlenmystik: Im *Et incarnatus est* von Josquins *Da pacem*-Messe ist im sechssilbigen Noëma — dem übrigens die verstärkende Aposiopesis folgt — die Christus-Zahl nicht ohne weiteres vertreten [136]. Achten wir hingegen auf die darin verarbeitete *A.-Clx*-Kette, so ist das unbedingt erforderliche Symbol des Mensch werdenden Christus da!

Der funktionale, d.h. nur aus der Ganzheit des Kunstwerks verständliche Charakter des *N* wird uns in Josquins Missa *Mater* [137] deutlich, wo im Credo-Verlauf 8 längere *N*-Stellen [138] auffallen. Aber mehr noch: Damit hier bei diesem Werk, das man geradezu Noëma-Messe nennen könnte, keine Schwächung des „N"-Gewichts eintritt, ist als *Gegengewicht* zum *N* eine gleiche Fülle ausgeprägter *Fugae* eingeschaltet, die in ihrer genauen Nachahmung ebenfalls abnorm lang sind (auch hier werden die heiligen Zahlen, nur in *multiplizierter* Form — 15, 24, 27, 30 — respektiert).

XII. Damit ist zugleich unser Augenmerk auf das grosse Gebiet der *Fuga* (hier = *Imitation*) gelenkt. Auf ihren Werdegang, auch als Stil*mittel* ist in der Fachliteratur mehr als bei vielen anderen eingegangen worden [139]. Für uns geht es nur darum, sie als gleichberechtigt und nicht überbetont in die Reihe der anderen einzufügen, auch sie unter dem Gesichtspunkt textlicher Funktion, d.h. als Figur zu betrachten. Das kann

[134] Vgl. hierüber Jeppesen, Z. f. Mw., XII, 1929/30; Ursprung (Titel Fn. 128) Seite 177.

[135] Ueber diesen Begriff Besselers vgl. *Bourdon* .. S. 221 ff.

[136] Blumes „Chorwerk" (Heft 20) — Ausgabe-Möseler-Verlag — Credo Takt 54 ff.

[137] *G.A.* Nr. 12 (Petrucci-Druck, Liber III. 1514).

[138] Et in .. Jesum Chr. / Et ex Patre / Genitum .. / Et incarnatus / Et resurrexit / Et iterum / Qui cum patre .. / et apostolicam ecclesiam.

[139] Vide Müller-Blattau, „Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Fuge". *Königsberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft,* 1923.

freilich bei der Fülle des Materials nur an ganz wenigen Beispielen geschehen und muss gesonderten Untersuchungen vorbehalten bleiben. Wenn wir die typische *Duo-Fuga* Dufays bis in die Frühzeit der *St. Jacobs*-Messe zurück verfolgen wollen, so könnte man bei der 6-tönigen *Agnus dei-F.* [140] des Gloria annehmen, dass die Zahlenmystik hier noch nicht in die Fugentechnik eingedrungen ist. Bei den späteren sieht es anders aus. Nicht die parallele „Agnus"-Stelle des Gloria — weil 4-stimmig und darum nicht fugiert — kann hier verglichen werden, aber der vorhergehende Anfang des Christus-Abschnitts: *Domine Fili . . . . unigenite.* Die *L'homme armé*-Messe Dufays zeigt da die besondere Technik des Meisters: *Domine* beginnt mit Fugierung der ersten *3* Töne, geht dann in freies Duo über, um beim Wortende abermals in *F*-Technik überzuwechseln [141]. Diese F-„Klammer" zitiert, rhythmisch streng gezählt, 3 + 6, d.h. die Dreifaltigkeit, „isomelisch" 4 + 8, also die Schöpfung. Das ist kaum als zufällig anzusprechen. Nicht immer ist diese *einklammernde Fugen-Technik* angewandt. Sehr oft beginnen die Abschnitte *frei und verdichten* sich *dann erst* zur *Fuga.* Die Parallelstelle aus der *Ecce ancilla*-Messe [142] zeigt dieses *Verdichten:* erst *Jesu* ist rhythmisch wie melisch klar fugiert, *unigenite* nur teilweise. Dass dieser Duo Abschnitt schliesslich in *5* rhythmisch völlig gleiche Sexten (*Christe*) einmündet, belehrt uns über die architektonisch-formende Seite der verschiedenen Figurae: *Climax* als abschliessende Steigerung begegnete uns auch bei Dufay schon mehrfach. Für die Beliebtheit der *Duo-Fuga* (Oberstimmen) an derselben Textstelle möge Josquins Petrucci-Messe *La sol fa re mi* zeugen: 17 (= 12 + 5!) Töne sind hier — auch rhythmisch — identisch [143]. Trotz dieser Intensivierung in der Zahl fugierter Töne fällt aber auf, dass auch hier — im Alt — erst ein allmähliches „Verdichten" zur Fuga und *kein* klares *Herausheben* der *beiden Fugenköpfe* vorliegt. Man könnte auch hierin eine Bestätigung für Osthoffs These, dass „alle gedruckten Messen Josquins der mittleren bezw. frühen Zeit angehören" [144] erblicken.

Gewiss nicht überall, aber doch recht häufig und darum hier nicht zu übergehen, sind Duo-Fugae an solchen Textstellen, die von der *Gleichheit Gott-Vater-Sohn* sprechen, angebracht. Schon bei *Dufay* wären da u.a.

[140] *Opera Omnia* 4, S. 9, Takt 44/5.

[141] *G.A.* (Besseler) L'homme armé, S. 39, Takt 64 ff.

[142] *G.A.* (Besseler) Ecce ancilla, Gloria, Takt 49. Die 5-Zahl, deren Fehlen gerade bei „Jesu" auffallen würde, ergibt sich zwanglos, wenn man das abschliessende, aber bereits die Fuga beginnende e von unigen*ite* zu den 4 *Jesu*-Tönen addiert.

[143] Messe Nr. 11 der Gesamt-Ausgabe Josquins (Smijers), S. 38, T. 37 ff. Der Sopran beginnt auf d, der Alt geht aus dem freien Anfang unmerklich in die Imitierung (auf g) über.

[144] *Kongressbericht Utrecht* 1952, S. 308.

consubstantialem Patri[145], *Et ex Patre*[146], bei Ockeghem *Deum de Deo*[147] und *Qui sedes*, Stellen die auch Josquin mehrfach so gestaltet — wobei die Missa *Mater* wiederum durch die Länge der Fugierung (24!) auffällt[148]. Ein klares *consubstantialem*-Duo bringt *Josquins* Messe G.A. Nr. 2 (3 x 5 Töne!). Zu untersuchen wäre noch, ob nicht *et propter*[149] und *qui propter*[150]-Duos vom Philosophischen her (*Kausalitätsfolge* „Ursache-Wirkung"), also auch textbezogen zu erklären sind.

Dass die Durchimitation a l l e r Stimmen — ohne Pausierung eines Teils derselben — bei der Vertonung *unam .... catholicam* Brumels sich besonders klar vom Wort „cat-holicam" her erklären lässt, wurde schon oben in Verbindung mit „Tw" unter I besprochen. Isaacs 3-stimmige *Fuga* (Tenor tacet) in dem *per quem omnia facta sunt* seiner Missa *Charge de deuil* (Christussymbol 5) könnte auch in diesem Zusammenhang genannt werden.

XIII. Die gleichen Stellen wie vor allem *Qui sedes* (im Gloria) und *Qui sedet* (im Credo) — beide insgesamt etwa 20 an der Zahl — sind als 2-stimmige *Apocope,* d.h. in Verbindung mit freien anderen Stimmen, nachweisbar. Es ist wohl die grössere Kontrastmöglichkeit, die für den genannten Fall der *Ap.* den Vorzug vor der Duo-F. verschaffte. Auch beim *Deum de Deo, consubstantialem* ist die *Ap* neben der Duo-*F häufig*. Gewiss sind damit nicht alle Fälle textbezogener Fugen- und Apocope-Anwendung erfasst, ebensowenig ist damit gesagt, dass nicht oft rein architektonische Kontrastgründe die Verwendung des einen oder anderen Stilmittels verursacht haben, der Beweis für den bewusst-planvollen Gebrauch all der genannten Stilmittel dürfte immerhin erbracht sein.

XIV. Die als „paarige Imitation" bekannte, von der Figurensystematik als *Mimesis* bezeichnete Wiederholung der einen Stimmengruppe durch die andere, d.h. die Keimzelle der späteren Mehrchörigkeit, ist in ihrem gruppen- und symmetriebildenden Wesen, ihrem architektonisch klaren Charakter als Domäne Josquins kaum umstritten. Inwieweit auch diese Figur über ihre formende Funktion hinaus auch noch textillustrierende Aufgaben hatte, muss, wie viele der hier angeschnittenen Fragen, unberührt bleiben. Suchen wir nach Mimesis-Beispielen vor Josquin, so finden wir bei *Obrecht* die vereinheitlichende, also formende, in jedem Falle aber Ver-

[145] Missa „Ecce ancilla", Duo-Fuga, Alt-Bass.

[146] Missa „Ave Regina", Duo-Fuga, Sopr.-Alt. Takt 25 ff.

[147] Ockeghem, Missa cuiusvis toni, *G.A.* I, Nr. 4, Takt 15, Alt und Bass. 5 (!) gleiche Fugentöne.

[148] Ockeghem, Missa cuiusvis toni, S./A.-Duo. Josquin, Missa Nr. X mit 5. Josquin, Missa Nr. XII mit 24 genau gleichen fugierten Anfangstönen.

[149] Dufay, Missa „Ave Regina" Duo des Sopr. u. Alt.

[150] Josquin, *Ges. Ausg.* (Smijers) Messe XII, Alt/Bass ist 27 tönig fugiert.

wandtes *koppelnde Funktion* bestätigt. So ist in Obrechts Messe Nr. 10 *Laudamus Adoramus,* in Nr. 19 (Missa sine nomine) *Et incarnatus est .... et homo factus est* durch eine rein musikalische *Mimesis* gekoppelt. Da der Text weiterläuft und nicht wiederholt wird, liegt also die rednerische Figur des „Nachspottens" nicht vor, doch bereitete die Ableitung der Klangredefiguren aus der reinen Oratorie ihren Systematikern ja auch sonst oft Schwierigkeiten.

Eine Mimesis im strengen Sinne, d.h. Wiederholung gleicher Worte und Töne findet sich jedoch — erstaunlicherweise — in Dufays grossartigem Alterswerk, der Missa *Ave Regina.* Hier, beim *Et vitam venturi* ist für die Schilderung des ewigen Lebens nicht die später so typische grosse Fuge (man denke an Beethovens Missa solemnis!), sondern eine ausgesprochene Mimesis angewandt [151]. Nicht innerhalb des Paares, das als freies Duo gleichsam schwebende Seligkeitrhythmen bringt, findet sich Nachahmung, wohl aber entsprechen sich die beiden Paare Ton für Ton. Und hier, am Schluss seiner letzten Messe, schaltet sich der Meister noch einmal durch das mystische Zahlenband in jene Wesenskreise ein, die er — anscheinend *auch* auf *diesem* Gebiet ein *Vorkämpfer* — in seinen Werken in steigendem Masse erklingen liess: in der jeweiligen Oberstimme Christus (*25* Töne), in der unteren das Himmelssymbol (*14*) und durch die 3 feierlichen 4-stimmigen Amenakkorde (zusammen 12 Töne) die Welt, von der er ja mit seiner *Ave Regina*-Motette Abschied nahm.

Fassen wir das Ergebnis unserer Betrachtungen in aller Kürze zusammen, so müssen wir feststellen: Der Text spielt, auch bei den Meistern vor Josquin, eine wichtige Rolle, wichtiger als man es für die ältere Zeit unseres Abschnittes anzunehmen bereit war. Damit ist aber nicht ein Inspiriert-Werden im Sinne des 19. Jahrhunderts gemeint, nicht ein unbewusstes Entzückt-Werden durch den Einfall und ein Weitergeben desselben an den ebenso unmittelbar aufnehmenden Hörer. In dieser Hinsicht prallen bei Pfitzners „Palestrina" zwei verschiedene Welten zusammen, klarer gesagt, versucht der „letzte Romantiker" die so andersartige Niederländerwelt in die seine zu zwängen. Hinsichtlich der Art, Texte zu komponieren, drängt sich der Vergleich zwischen dem modernen, allen Gefühlsnuancen gehorchenden Flügel und der Orgel auf: wie der Orgelspieler wählt der alte Meister seine Stilmittel, zieht einmal das „Fuga", dann das *Clx-Register* usw. Eins aber ist in unserem Vergleich nicht erfasst: die *Dauer* des Registergebrauchs steht ja unter dem *Gesetz* der *Zahl* und dies Moment gibt uns hinsichtlich des Schaffensprozesses im 15. und 16. Jh. eine Fülle von Problemen auf, die hier keineswegs genauer behandelt werden können. Für uns muss folgendes genügen: jene Stilmittel, die wie Register zu wählen

[151] *G.A.* (Besseler) S./T. (Takt 195) A./B. (Takt 200).

waren, können deswegen mit den späteren *Figurae* verglichen werden, weil sie — primär — Abweichungen von der Norm, erlaubte „vitia" sind, und sie sind erlaubt, weil sie einem höheren Zweck, der Textdeutung dienen; damit sind sie aber *bewusst* angewandt, ja sie haben — wie die Redefiguren — den Charakter eines *ornamentum orationis. An diesem ornamentum* nun — und das ist gegenüber der antiken Redekunst neu — *entfaltet sich* das in der Zahl manifestierte *Mysterium,* trivial gesprochen: weil es zu zählende Ausnahmen sind, auf die man achtet, deshalb sind all die behandelten Satztechniken (= Figuren) so gut als Symbolträger geeignet.

Die sinnbildliche Zahlenverwendung, die uns den bewussten Figurengebrauch so klar bestätigt, bindet nun auch die 3 ersten Generationen der niederländischen Meister enger zusammen, ja betont den Zusammenhang bis Bach hin. Auch von hier aus gesehen, scheint die Wende um 1430 — worauf Besseler so nachdrücklich hinweist — sehr stark zu sein. Die *Kluft* Ockeghem-Josquin hingegen *verringert* sich. Das Figuren-„Repertoire" ist der Wandlung unterworfen („N", „Mm", „F" wird zur Regel), *gezählt* aber werden die Glieder ihrer Ornament-Kette in *jedem* Falle.

Damit ist ein weiteres Problem gestellt: Meinten die *ars perfecta*-Anhänger mit den *mathematici* der älteren Generation etwa auch deren „Zählen" und nicht nur Satzkünste wie Ockeghems „Missa prolationum"? Das läge nahe, wenn es nicht der Reservata-Meister auch getan hätte. Meinte man etwa, dass die Ockeghem-Zeit n u r zählte — um Texte zu symbolisieren — während die *perfecta ars* mehr affekthaltige, ohne ratio-Umweg verständliche Figuren und auch das rein Deklamatorische einbezog?

In dieser Linie liegt weiterhin folgende Tatsache: Man wird auch Ockeghem keineswegs ein *intensives Bemühen* um die *Heilswahrheiten,* die seine Mystik in Töne umsetzte, absprechen, d.h. Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber dem Text vorwerfen dürfen. Eines steht dabei aber fest: wie er die Form gern verhüllt, klärende Einschnitte oft meidet, so ist auch seine Zahlenmystik — dies hätte noch genauer gezeigt werden können — nicht immer leicht erkennbar, als ob er keinen Wert darauf legte, seine Geheimnisse jedem zugänglich zu machen. Meint man also mit *reservata* eine Musik, die nicht „publica" ist und Kennern vorbehalten, müsste man dann nicht bei Ockeghem von einer „reservatissima" sprechen, von einem „Hüten des Mysteriums"?

Stösst denn nun die *Praxis* nicht unsere Behauptung, dass die Meister auch schon vor Josquin ein enges Textverhältnis hatten, um? Die Textunterlegung differiert in den Quellen oft so, dass sie der Neuherausgabe die grössten Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Das betrifft aber nur das Verhältnis „Komponist und Ausübende". Wenn Wiora in seinem aufschlussreichen

Josquin-Aufsatz [152] es für „undenkbar" hält, dass Josquin gegenüber schlechter Textierung gleichgültig war, so wird man das auch auf die Meister vor ihm ausdehnen müssen; auch auf Ockeghem; denn das Hüten eines Mysteriums bedeutet ja nicht, seiner Verzerrung gleichgültig gegenüberzustehen. Für uns ergibt sich daraus bei Neuausgaben die Verpflichtung, *noch mehr* auf den *Text Rücksicht* zu nehmen, obwohl es gewiss bedenklich und schwerwiegend ist, offensichtlich schlechte Textierungen einer Quelle zu negieren und unserer Erkenntnis gemäss zu ändern.

[152] Wiora (Tit. Fn. 64) S. 35.

A COMPOSITION BY CLEMENS NON PAPA IN A 16th-CENTURY PAINTING

K. PH. BERNET KEMPERS

A charming young woman playing the virginal, without any attribute of sanctity — except perhaps the chasteness of her face, the meditating mouth and the pensive eyes — totally absorbed in the discreet tunes of her instrument; at her right, two boys, one dreamy and almost melancholic, the other, though by the sign of a wing on the right shoulder an angel, livelier and waggish, but also with an expression somewhat unreal and serene. This is a painting by an anonymous artist of the 16th century. The name of Michael Coxcie has been suggested but not affirmed. The painting was exhibited by the auction house of Mack van Waay in Amsterdam in July 1953.

The two boys (Angels) show a music book, a *discantus* part, written in the mensural notation of the 16th century. This is painted so accurately that notes and text are perfectly legible. The remarkable thing is that, though the right shoulder of the angel and the right arm of the playing woman cover parts of the pages, the notes actually seen form a continuous passage. No notes have been omitted and the intention is to identify the principal figure with the words „Caecilia virgo gloriosa".

What is the fragment the angels show us? It has already been indicated that it is no mere fantasy of the painter, a musical nonsense decorative in purpose. As the editor of the *Opera omnia* of Clemens non Papa, in course of publication under the authority of the American Institute of Musicology, and having at his disposal the pertinent material on the work of this master, the writer was able to identify the fragment off hand as the discant of the master's motet, the complete text of which is: „Caecilia virgo gloriosa semper evangelium Christi gerebat in pectore suo. Nec diebus neque noctibus a colloquiis divinis et oratione cessabat".

Secunda Pars:

„Biduanis ac triduanis ieiuniis orans commendabat domino suam puditiam et dicens: fiat domine cor meum et corpus meum immaculatum ut non confundar."

This motet was first printed in *Liber quartus sacrarum cantionum quatuor vocum, vulgo moteta vocant, ex optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis selectarum. Antverpia apud Tillemannum Susato. Anno MDXLVII.*

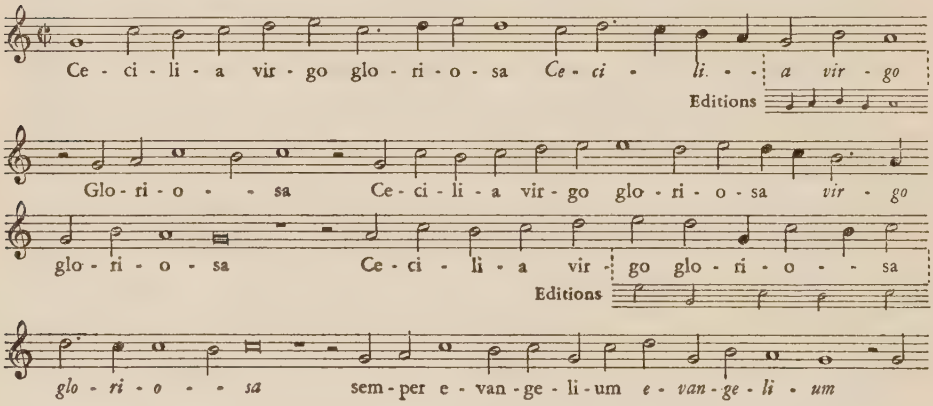
After the death of the master the motet was reprinted in 1559:

Tertia pars magni operis musici continens clarissimorum symphonistarum tam veterum quam recentiorum, praecipue vero Clementis non Papae carmina elegantissima quatuor vocum .... Noribergae in officina Ioannis Montani et Ulrici Neuberi. MDLIX.

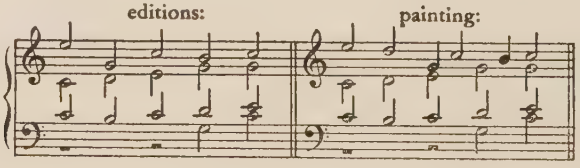
And a third and last time in:

Liber quartus cantionum sacrarum vulgo moteta vocant, quatuor vocum. Nunc primum in lucem editus. Autore D. Clemente non Papa, Lovanii apud Petrum Phalesium Bibliopol. Iurat. Anno MDLXII.

The work is found also in a manuscript of Aix la Chapelle, written between 1570 and 1575 by Johannes Mangon.

The fragment of *superius* as show on the painting differs in a few notes from all known printed sources:

Ce - ci - li - a vir - go glo - ri - o - sa Ce - ci - li. - - a vir - go
Editions
Glo - ri - o - - sa Ce - ci - li - a vir - go glo - ri - o - sa vir - go
glo - ri - o - sa Ce - ci - li - a vir - go glo - ri - o - - sa
Editions
glo - ri - o - - sa sem - per e - van - ge - li - um e - van - ge - li - um

For the polyphonic texture these variants matter little. One is a mere simplification of the printed form; the other avoids the drop by a major sixth and is more elegant in melodic line, but without an essential difference and no more than a conventional ornament as was likely to be improvised in execution:



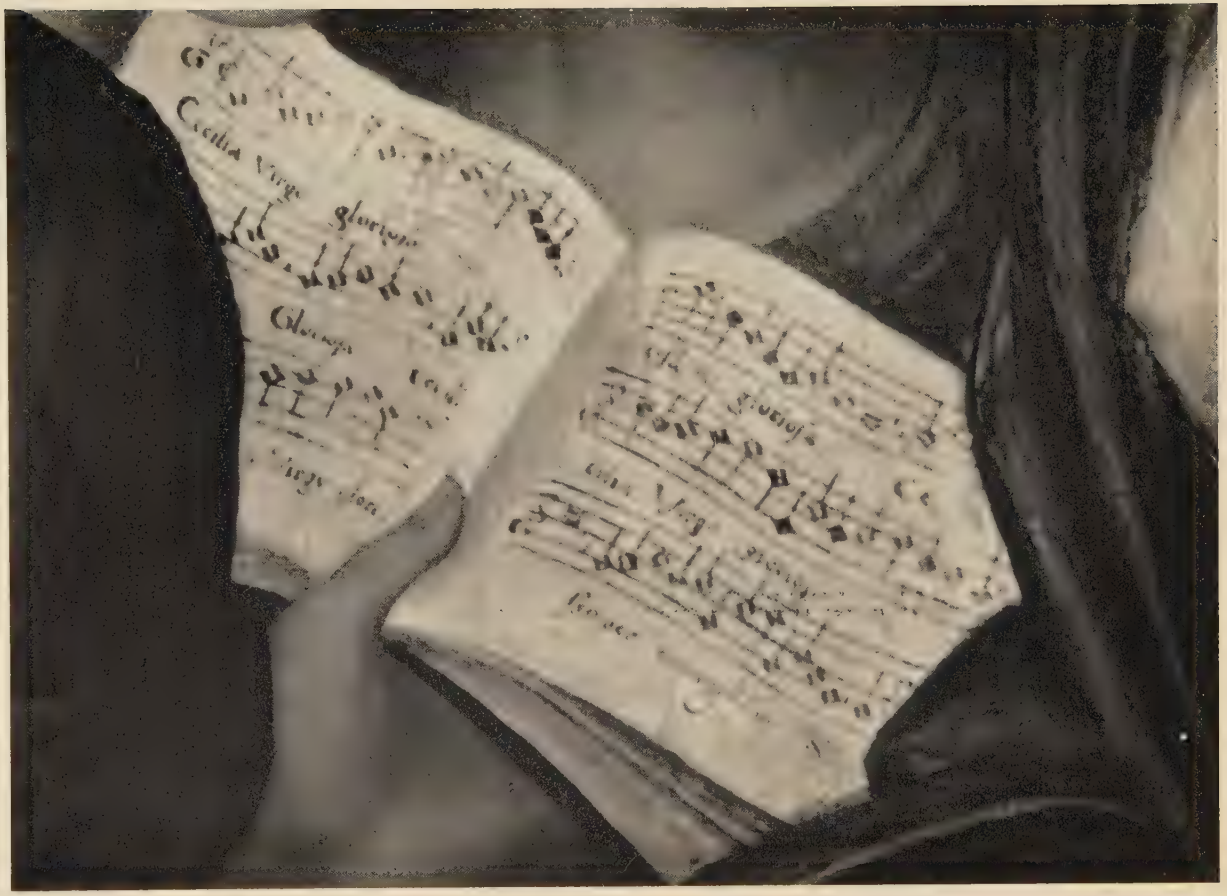
The painting gives a rather exact setting of the text, which demands an almost syllabic declamation and places some syllables under semiminims.

In contemplating this painting one may consider whether the page of music intends only to point out that the young woman playing the virginal is really Saint Cecilia, who is generally characterised by playing the organ.

This fact would suggest that the painter also intended to show her making music according to contemporary practice. In this case the picture would affirm that polyphony in the 16th century was also executed with the *superius* sung and the other parts played on an instrument; that is, as pseudo-monody. Unfortunately the painting is not as painstakingly correct in the placing on the keyboard of the young woman's hands as with the notes on the leaflet; for the chord played on the virginal makes no sense at all.

Anyhow, whether this charming production of a 16th-century Flemish artist may be by Michael Coxcie (1499-1592) or not, it shows again the emminence of that splendid composer, Jacobus Clemens non Papa, among his contemporaries [1].

Amsterdam, University

[1] The painting was at auction at Mack van Waays, Amsterdam, but though I was the highest bidder, the owner did not accept the bid and ordered the picture back to Berlin. In July 1954 I was instructed by my friend, D. A. Hoogendijk, the well known art dealer, that a Saint Cecilia attributed to Coxcie was to be auctioned in London. This proved to be the same work. Though interest in London was greater than in Amsterdam, I was able to get it there at about the same price as offered in Amsterdam, and the painting is by now in my possession.

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The Bibliography is prepared by the collaboration of Leonard Ellinwood, Washington, D.C.; François Lesure, Paris; Albert Van der Linden, Brussels; O. W. Neighbour, London; Nino Pirrotta, Rome; W. Schmieder, Frankfurt.

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